

THE
ORATIONS
OF
ÆSCHINES

A N D
DEMOSTHENES,
Concerning the
CROWN.

Translated into *ENGLISH* from the
GREEK, and illustrated with Notes *Hi-*
storical, Geographical, and Critical.

By **THOMAS DAWSON**, L. L. B. Chaplain
to the Right Honourable **RICHARD** Lord
Viscount **MOLESWORTH**.

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ORATIONS

AND

DEMOSTRATIONS

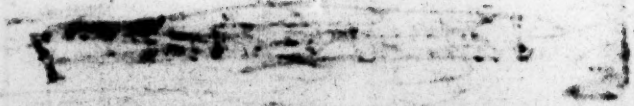
GROSVENOR



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TO HIS GRACE,
HUGH,

By Divine Permission,
Lord Arch-Bishop

OF
ARMAGH,

Primate *and* Metropolitan

OF ALL
IRELAND.

May it please Your GRACE,

IT was a compendious Method taken by *Julian* the *Apostate*, in order to carry on his Design of abolishing *Christianity*, to shut up the Schools of the *Christians*, and to prohibit them all kind of Commerce with the antient Literature; that so they might have no

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Oppor-

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Opportunity to discover the Weakness of the *Pagan* Religion, nor Arts, nor Eloquence, to display the Excellencies of their own.

Julian lived not long enough to see any Fruits of his Project. But the History of the following Ages gives us a fair, though a melancholly Proof, how justly he had taken his Measures. The Corrupters of *Christianity* went in the same Track with him, who had intended its Destruction. And that *Grand Apostare* from Pure and Primitive *Christianity*, the Bishop of *Rome*, could find no Time so convenient for establishing Bigotry, Superstition, and Idolatry, as That, wherein the *Gothick* Barbarity had thrown down all the Monuments of the antient Learning, and brought in upon the Ruins of it, the idle and impertinent Study of *Canonists* and *School-men*, whose whole Labours, dull, as they are voluminous, were only laid out to erect a *Babel* of Confusion, and a Kingdom of Darkness.

This

DEDICATION.

This Consideration, my Lord, should engage every Clergy-man to enrich his Mind out of that invaluable Treasury of useful Knowledge, the antient Literature; and will, I hope, prove no weak Apology for my employing some Time and Labour in a Performance of such a Nature as This, which, with all Humility, I now offer to your Grace. And could I have the least Shadow of Hope, that my Labours have not injured the Great and Illustrious Originals, I should not despair but the same Consideration would abundantly justify my Choice of your Grace for a Patron, on such an Occasion.

All that have the Honour of knowing your Grace, must allow you to be an excellent Judge in all the Parts of useful or polite Learning. The Writings of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* are familiar to you. I have therefore no Reason to fear the Censure

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sure of any one on account of this Address, unless it be Your Self, to merit whose Favour is the Height of my Ambition. And surely, it were a Hardship, if those Virtues which invite, and only can justify publick Acknowledgments of this Nature, should be the principal Cause of forbidding them.

Your Grace's constant Attachment to the Interests of true Religion, and the Liberties of Your Country, as it has been eminently conspicuous in the worst of Times, and when both were in extreme Danger; so has it received the most illustrious Acknowledgment from one of the greatest and wisest Princes that ever sat upon the *British* Throne, in the great and exalted Degrees of Dignity and Trust, to which you have been raised by him. This is a Consideration, which must always endear You to every true *Briton*, and true *Protestant*. But, the *Britons*, and *Protestants* of *Ireland*, who now stand
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in a much nearer Relation to You, are, in a more particular manner, oblig'd to entertain the highest Esteem and Affection for Your Grace. Your truly honest and impartial Behaviour in publick Life, Your Hospitality at Home, and the Affability and Sweetness of Your Conversation, Virtues, which rendered *Atticus* the Delight of the *Roman* People, with the greatest Justice, entitle You to this Return. But above All, Your diffusive *Charity* must warm every Heart that has the least Spark of Gratitude remaining; *Charity*, which has not been confined to those of Your own Function or Perswasion, but extended it self to the Poor and the Afflicted of all the numerous Professions in the Kingdom, at a Time of almost universal Distress and Calamity. A most worthy Example, and highly becoming Your Grace's elevated Station, in that excellent Church, whose distinguishing Characteristick is *Charity*.

Per-

DEDICATION.

Permit, My LORD, one already under very great Obligations to your Grace, to share further in that Benevolence, which is perpetually overflowing in good Wishes, or good Designs, for the whole Race of Humankind, by receiving this Address with your usual Candor and Good-nature, and by sheltering under your powerful Patronage this well-intended, however weakly-executed Essay, of

May it please Your Grace,

Your Grace's Most Faithful,

Most Devoted,

and Most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

THOMAS DAWSON.



THE
PREFACE.

SINCE the chief Business of a *Translator* is to make his Author as intelligible as possible; and since most of the Arguments insisted upon by our Orators are drawn from the Revolutions of Greece, it will not be improper to lay before the Reader an Abridgment of the History of that Country, in regard, it will enable him to go through those Orations with greater Pleasure and Profit: And having done this, I shall then give him an Account of the Occasion and Issue of these two celebrated Performances; because, both *Æschines* and *Demosthenes*, though put into an *English* Dress, will still be mere *Greek* to those who are not acquainted with these Particulars.

Athens, in the Beginning, was govern'd by Kings, who at first had little more than the bare Name; for their Power, according to *Thucydides*, was generally confined to the Command of her Armies, and was therefore very inconsiderable in Times of Peace. These Princes are commonly reckoned seventeen in Number; they reigned Four Hundred and Eighty Seven Years; Ten of them were from *Cecrops* down to *Theseus*, and Seven from *Theseus* to *Codrus*; the first Cotemporary

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with *Moses*, the last with *Saul*. *Codrus* the last King in the War with the *Heraclidae*, gloriously sacrificed himself for the Good of his People. For, the Oracle having foretold, that, if the *Athenian* General were not slain, the *Peloponnesians* should obtain the Victory, he was as earnest, if we may credit *Vell. Paterculus*, to meet Death, as the most cowardly are industrious to fly from it.

His two Sons, *Medon* and *Nileus* disputed the Succession; upon which the *Athenians* took Occasion to abolish Kingly Government, though it had been always administred with the greatest Lenity, and declared, they would have no King but *Jupiter*. In the Room of their Kings, they substituted perpetual Governours, called *Archons*, of whom there were Thirteen. *Medon* the Son of *Codrus*, who, according to *Eusebius*, transmitted the Office to his Descendants for Three Hundred and Sixteen Years, was the first of them, and *Alcmeon* the last. This Office for Life was thought by the *Athenians* to carry too near a Resemblance to that Form of Government they had before destroyed, and to which they still continued such implacable Enemies, that they were resolved to banish even the least Appearance of it. To this End, they first reduced it from a perpetual to a decennial Administration; under which Form it continued, according to *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, for Ten *Archonships*. But jealous even of this Power, they afterwards reduced the Term to a Year. Of these Annual *Archons*, *Creon* was the first, who, according to the forementioned Author, was elected in the second or third Year of the twenty-fourth *Olympiad*. So limited a Power as this was, found itself too weak to restrain a People, who were almost every Day engaged in such Quarrels and Factions, either about Religion or Policy, as kept the Commonwealth in a perpetual Ferment. In this Condition *Athens* continued a long Time, happy in this only, that she stood, notwithstanding those long and frequent Dissentions, with which she was shaken. At length, she by Experience saw,

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law, that true Happiness consists in a Dependence upon established Laws, and that it was necessary, for that Purpose, to apply to some skilful and prudent Legislator. *Draco* was the Person pitched upon, a Man of approved Integrity, and great Abilities; who, according to *Josephus* and *Suidas*, was the first in Greece that committed Laws to Writing. But these Laws, on account of the Severity of their Sanctions, being said to be written with Blood, soon met with the Fate of all violent Things. For, in a very little Time, they grew into Disuse, and at last became entirely obsolete. But the Fear of relapsing into their former Disorders obliged the *Athenians* to take new Precautions; so that, Twenty-six Years after, they cast their Eyes upon *Solon*, one of the wisest and most virtuous Men of his Time, and whose good Conduct had acquired him an universal Love and Reputation. He was impowered, as *Plutarch* informs us, in the first Year of the 45th Olympiad, by the general Voice of the People, to regulate, as he thought fit, their Assemblies, Assessments, Decrees, and Tribunals; and, in a Word, to new model whatever else he should find amiss in the whole Frame of the Commonwealth. This he did in the best Manner, which the Circumstances of the Times, and the Tempers of the People would admit. He moderated the Power of the Rich and Great; relieved the Poor from Oppression; and restored the Love of Labour and Husbandry. By introducing the Arts of Commerce, he put the *Athenians* into a Condition of enriching themselves; and found out Methods to reduce a very wild and headstrong People to the Rules of Reason and Justice; teaching them to depend for Protection upon the Laws, instead of having Recourse to Force and Violence, which they had formerly believed to be the only Remedy against Oppression. For these Reasons, he is often by our Orators called, *The Legislator*, by way of Eminence. *Athens* thus reformed, was in a fair Way of growing great and powerful, when *Pisistratus*, in Spite of the incurable Aver-

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sion, which the *Athenians* seemed to have conceived against *Monarchy*, and in Spite of all the Remonstrances of *Solon* to prevent it, prevailed so far at last, as to obtain the Sovereign Power. His Reign, however, was not without Disturbance; for he was twice dethroned, and as often restored. As he gained the Crown by Artifice and Address, so he maintain'd it by his Moderation; and bequeath'd the Sovereignty to his Posterity, which for many Years was peaceably enjoyed by them. Of this Family it may be justly said, that they had the Art of extinguishing that inbred and ardent Love of Liberty, for which the *Athenians* had formerly been so eminently distinguish'd. However, rous'd at last by the repeated Importunities of the *Lacedæmonians*, and assisted by their Forces, they shook off the Yoke, and resolved to suffer the last Extremities, rather than open their Gates to the Tyrant *Hippias*, who was then returning home supported by the whole Power of *Darius Nothus*, King of *Persia*. The *Athenians* were neither aw'd by the Greatness, nor mov'd by the Menaces of the *Persian* Monarch. At first, they had Recourse to Treaties; but finding them ineffectual, they at last ventured to pass over into *Asia*, and fall upon that Monarch's Frontiers, where they burned *Sardis*, the Capital of *Lydia*. In Revenge of this, he soon brought the War home to their own Doors, by *Datis* his General. But they, instead of waiting for the Enemy within their Walls, went out to meet him at *Marathon*, where they gained a Victory, in every Circumstance of it so extraordinary, that it would appear almost incredible, had we not the concurrent Testimony of so many noble Historians to confirm the Truth of it. The *Persians* brought into the Field an Hundred Thousand Foot, and Ten Thousand Horse: The *Athenians* only Ten Thousand Men, or, according to *Herodotus* and others, Eleven Thousand, viz. Ten Thousand *Athenians*, and a Thousand *Platæans*, but command-

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ed by *Miltiades*, a General of singular Bravery. *Hippias* the *Athenian* Tyrant fell in the Battle. This unexpected Success (so often celebrated by our Orators in the most exalted Strains of Eloquence) gave new Vigour, as well as Strength to the *Athenians*; however, they did not yet venture to contend with *Sparta* for the Sovereignty of *Greece*. Ten Years after, the *Greeks* defeated the *Persians* at *Salamis*, under the Conduct of *Themistocles*; at which time, the *Athenians* built Ships out of the Ruins of their own Houses, and in them chose rather to commit themselves to the Mercy of the Seas, than submit to a foreign Tyranny: An Action greatly extolled by *Demosthenes* in his following Oration. Soon after followed the signal Victory at *Platea*, under the Conduct of *Pausanias* and *Aristides*; where the *Persians* received such a Defeat as for ever after discouraged them from encountering the *Greeks*. But that Day so glorious to *Greece*, became also fatal to her. For it inclined the Balance of Power in favour of *Athens*, which had formerly been in the Hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, and raised such Jealousies, as were not ended, till after fifty Years Contest, by the *Peloponnesian* War. During the Course of this War, which continued twenty-seven Years, Victory seemed a long time irresolute, and to hover between both Parties. But at last, *Athens* by her tyrannical Usage of those Cities which had committed themselves to her Protection, and by imprudently pouring all her Forces into *Sicily* to carry on another War, was worsted; the City itself besieged, and obliged to surrender at Discretion to the *Lacedæmonians*. Nor was Peace granted them upon any other than the severe and ignominious Terms of demolishing their Walls and Fortifications, and engaging themselves never to equip more than twelve Ships of War, nor pretend to the Sovereignty of *Greece*, for the future. Thus fell the Empire of the *Athenians*, which from the Defeat of the *Persians* had continued about seventy.

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seventy-three Years. But, by this Means, *Greece* received no other Advantage, than the Change of her Masters. For, the *Lacedæmonians* assumed the same Sovereignty, and exercised it with equal Haughtiness, though their Reign continued but about thirty Years. At the End of this Period, the *Athenians* again recovered their Liberty, by joining their Fleet with the *Persians*, with whom the *Lacedæmonians* had inconsiderately made a Rupture ; and not only rebuilt their Walls and Fortifications, but saw themselves in a Condition to dispute the Empire of the Sea with their former Masters. Nor did they stop here, but soon afterwards forced the *Lacedæmonians* to restore Liberty to all the Cities of *Greece*. The *Lacedæmonians* indeed pretended a voluntary Generosity in this Affair ; but it was evident by the Consequence, that Fear was their only Motive to it, because they took the first Opportunity that offered to oppress the *Thebans*, though expressly comprehended in that Treaty, by which the *Athenians* had obliged them to restore Liberty to *Greece*. This Violation of Faith rekindled the Animosity of the *Athenians*. They stirred up the rest of *Greece* to unite with them against *Sparta* ; set upon the *Lacedæmonians* afresh, and worsted them several Times both by Sea and Land, at *Corinth*, *Naxos*, *Corcyra*, and *Leucade*, till at last they obliged them to renew the former Treaty, and restore all the *Græcian* Cities to a State of Liberty.

Greece seemed now to enjoy a profound Tranquility ; but to her great Misfortune, the Peace was scarcely concluded, before *Thebes* unexpectedly started up, and asserted her Claim to the Sovereign Power. This State often shifted Sides, as Occasion required, sometimes joining with the *Persians*, sometimes with the *Lacedæmonians*, and last of all with the *Athenians*, with whom she entered into a Treaty. This Treaty was of no long Continuance, but was quickly broken by the *Thebans*, who attacked *Platea*, a Place, which had been long under the Protection of the *Athenians*,
and

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and having mastered it, razed it to the Ground. The *Lacedæmonians*, imagining that the *Thebans*, forsaken as they were, by their Allies, could be in no Condition to make Head against them, marched out against them, as to a certain Victory, and penetrated a great Way into their Country; whilst the rest of *Greece* looked upon *Thebes* as irrecoverably lost; little imagining, that she had more than an Army in a single Man. This illustrious Person was *Epaminondas*, under whose Conduct the *Thebans* defeated the *Lacedæmonians* at *Leuctra*, a City of *Bœotia*, and gave them, as *Xenophon* and *Pausanias* inform us, such a mortal Blow as they were never after able to recover. For, in this Battle, they lost four thousand of their choicest Troops, together with *Cleombrotus* their King, besides those who were wounded and taken Prisoners.

Upon this Victory, as *Demosthenes* observes in his Oration which I have translated, the *Thebans* were immeasurably elated. They imagined themselves invincible under their New General; harrassed *Attica*; made Incursions into *Peloponnesus*; and, if *Xenophon* is to be believed, were very near taking *Sparta* it self. But, while the States of *Greece* were thus contending about a Sovereignty, which could have been of very little real Advantage to any one of them, they cherish'd in their Bosoms the most dangerous of their Enemies.

This was *Philip* of *Macedon*, Son of King *Amyntas*, by his Queen *Euridice*, born at *Pella*, but educated at *Thebes*, where he resided as an Hostage in the same House with *Epaminondas*. Upon some ill News from *Macedon*, he secretly fled from *Thebes*, and went to his own Country in the first Year of the 105th. *Olympiad*, where he found all Things in Confusion, upon the Death of *Perdiccas*, his elder Brother, slain in a Battle with the *Illyrians*, who were just ready to enter the Kingdom with a very powerful Army. Nor was this all; the *Pæonians* infested it continually with their Incursions; the *Thracians* pretended to place *Pausanias*, a Prince of the Blood-Royal on the Throne; the

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the *Athenians* on the other hand, espoused *Argeus*, and supported his Title both by Sea and Land. However, *Philip*, (*Amyntas*, the lawful Heir being an Infant,) was called to the Crown by the People, who had conceived great Hopes of him; Nor were they disappointed. For he inspected into every thing, and reformed what he found amiss; revived the sinking Courage of his People, and recruited and disciplined his Troops. Far from behaving himself like a young Man of Twenty-two Years of Age, he quickly discovered the most profound Skill in Politicks; and was a Master of the whole Art of Dissimulation. He was dextrous at complying with Occasions, and making them subservient to his own Ends. He began with Evacuating *Amphipolis*, a Place of great Importance upon his Frontiers; because he found he could not hold it without weakening his Army, and disobliging the *Athenians*, who claimed it as their own Colony, and with whom it was his Interest to be upon good Terms. On the other hand, there seemed no Reason, why he should give up a Place of so great Consequence, to his Enemies; and therefore he resolved to set it free, and by that Means, make its Interests different from those of its old Masters. He disarmed the *Pæonians* by large Donatives, and larger Promises. And by this prudent Management, firmly established himself on the Throne, and got rid of all his Competitors. He shut up the Avenues of his Kingdom against *Pausanias*; then marching against *Argeus*, met him in the Way to *Methone*, and gave him an entire Defeat. He overreached the *Athenians* in a Treaty of Peace; and afterwards attacking the *Pæonians* who had revolted from him, reduced them to Obedience. Then turning his Arms against the *Illyrians*, he totally routed them, and obliged them to relinquish all their Conquests in *Macedon*. Encouraged by this Success, he besieged and took *Amphipolis*; but instead of surrendering it to the *Athenians* as he had promised, he took from them *Pid-*

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ne and *Potidea*. Then he seized on *Crenida*, since known by the Name of *Philippi*; near which, he discovered some rich Mines, from whence he drew such Quantities of Treasure, as not only maintained a great Body of foreign Troops, but enabled him to keep Pensioners in almost all the Cities of Greece.

At this Time, the *Social War*, frequently mentioned by our Orators, broke out, which gave *Philip* great Advantages for the carrying on his Designs. This War, which continued three Years, was occasioned by the Revolt of the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans* and *Byzantines*, from the Commonwealth of *Athens*, for her tyrannical Treatment of them. The *Athenians* greatly exasperated against these People, who united against them, sent *Chares* and *Chabrias*, with a Fleet of sixty Ships, to reduce them to Obedience; but *Chabrias*, by venturing too boldly into the Haven of *Chius*, at that Time besieged on the Land-side by *Chares*, was slain, and so nothing effected that Year. The next, *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus*, two of the most noble Persons in *Athens*, were joined in Commission with *Chares*, and furnished with an hundred Gallies, to carry on the War; but they happening to disagree, and *Chares* accusing his Collegues, who were condemned to pay a Fine of many Talents, by the People of *Athens*, little was done the second Year. But this War being terminated the next Season by a Peace with the Allies, which the *Athenians* were obliged to come into, because the King of *Persia* threatened to assist their Enemies; *Philip* was, in the mean time, attacked at once by the Kings of the *Thracians*, *Illyrians*, and *Pæonians*; who, jealous of his growing Greatness, intended to unite all their Forces against him, and so to overwhelm him. But *Philip* was not to be so easily surprized; he suddenly set upon them before they had compleated their Forces, and in a short Time put it out of their Power to give him any further uneasiness.

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The next Year, being the Second of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus Siculus Callistratus* being then *Archon* at *Athens*, the *Phocian*, or *Sacred War* began, so often mentioned in the following Orations. The Occasion of that War was this : The *Lacedæmonians*, after the great Defeat they had received at *Leuctra*, were fined in a Sum of five hundred Talents by the Supreme Council of the *Amphietyones*, for the Use of the *Thebans*, whose Citadel *Cadmæa* they had seized upon in time of Peace. This Sum they refused to pay at the time appointed, and were therefore fined five hundred more. The *Phocians* also having ploughed up a Parcel of Ground called, *Cirræum*, which belonged to the Temple of *Delphos*, were by a Decree of the same General Council of the *Greeks* amerced in a great many Talents. When this latter Decree came to be executed by seizing their Lands, *Philomelus*, a Man of great Power amongst them, argued against the Injustice of it, and perswaded them to hinder the Execution thereof by Force ; because the Temple itself had been once under their Protection, and a Part of their Property. He excited them therefore to endeavour the Regaining it into their own Possession ; promising them, to accomplish That, and every Thing else for their Honour and Advantage, would they but invest him with a proper Power. Prevailed on by his Arguments, they made him General with full Power. Upon this he immediately went to *Sparta*, and wrought upon *Archidamus* the King to give him Assistance under-hand. Being readily supplied by him with Money, he levied an Army, set upon the Temple, slew several of the *Delphians* called *Thracidæ*, and gave the Plunder he had taken from them to his Soldiers. The News of his having seiz'd the Temple being publish'd abroad, the *Locrians* came to oppose him, but he repelled them with a very great Slaughter ; pulled the Decrees of the Council from
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the Pillars ; and broke in Pieces the Tables, wherein the Names of the condemned were engraved. However, he constantly gave out, that he neither intended to pillage the Temple, nor had any other dishonest Intention. But the *Bœotians* were too wary to be caught by these Professions, and therefore Decreed in their Council, that the Temple ought to be recovered, and ordered Forces to be rais'd for that Purpose. *Philomelus* in the mean time fortified the Place, and prepared for a vigorous Defence. He then invaded the *Locrians*, and made considerable Slaughter among them : He sent Embassadors to the *Athenians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and others, and prevailed on them to send him Succours ; and with these he took the Field again, and gave the *Locrians* another Defeat. Upon this, they found themselves obliged to send Embassadors to the *Thebans* imploring their Aid for *Apollo* and themselves. The *Bœotians* conceiving their Demands to be just, and ambitious to signalize their Piety towards the Gods, and apprehending it concerned themselves, that the Decrees of the *Amphietyones* should not be violated, sent to the *Thessalians* and the rest of the *Amphietyonick* Body to join with them in this War against the *Phocians*. The Council met, and gave their Opinions for carrying on the War, by which Means, Greece was divided into two great Factions. The *Bœotians*, *Locrians*, *Perhebeans*, *Dorians*, *Dolopians*, *Atbamanians*, *Achaians*, *Phiotians*, *Magnetes*, and *Ænians*, were for recovering the Temple, and vindicating the Honour of the God ; but they were opposed by the *Phocians*, *Athenians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and some other States of *Peloponnesus*. *Philomelus* receiving certain Intelligence, that the *Thebans* designed to invade the *Phocians* with a great Army, seized on the sacred Treasures of the Temple, to provide himself with a Body of Mercenaries. After several Skirmishes, he engaged with the *Bœotians*, but was overthrown by them in a Wood. In this Battle, it is unanimously agreed, that

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that he lost his Life, though the Manner of his Death is differently related by different Authors. However, this did not discourage the *Phocians*. They still carried on the War under the Command of *Onomarchus*, who resolved, if possible, to reduce his Enemies. To this End, he allured many by large Pay to enter into his Service; he corrupted the *Thessalians* to quit the Alliance of the *Bæotians*, and invading the Territories of the Enemy, took *Thronium*, forced the *Amphissæans* to submit, and wasted the Country of the *Derians*; he afterwards took *Orchomenus* in *Bæotia*; but, besieging *Cheronea*, was worsted by the *Thebans*, and forced to retreat into his own Country.

At this Time *Cersobleptes*, the Son, or as *Diodorus Sicul.* says, the Brother of *Cotys*, King of *Thrace*, a great Enemy to *Philip* of *Macedon*, but in League with the *Athenians*, drew all the Cities of the *Chersonesus* to the Party of the *Athenians*, except *Cardia*. *Philip* perceiving, that the Inhabitants of *Methone* one of these *Thracian* Cities, (a Place of great Moment in the War), designed to deliver it up to his Enemies, laid close Siege to it. This City held out against him for some time, but was at last obliged to surrender. As soon as he had taken it, he razed it to the Ground, having lost one of his Eyes in the Siege by a Wound with an Arrow.

Soon after this, *Philip* was apply'd to by the *Thessalians* for his Assistance, just after he had recovered from a dangerous fit of Sickneſs; he granted their Request, and in Conjunction with them, drove *Lycophron*, Tyrant of the *Pheræans* out of *Thessaly*, though aided by the *Phocians*. Then he set upon the *Phocians*, who worsted him twice, but in a third Encounter, with the Assistance of the *Thessalians*, he gave them a total Overthrow, and hanged *Onomarchus* their General. *Onomarchus* was succeeded in his Command by *Phayllus*, his Brother, who carried on the War, but was beat by the *Bæotians* in several Engagements, at *Orchomenus*, at the River *Cephisus*,

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phisus, and at *Coronea*. After this, *Philip* expell'd the Tyrant *Pytholaus*, who had seized upon *Pheræ*, for assisting the *Phocians*, and restored that City to its Liberty ; and having settled all other Matters in *Thes-saly*, marched towards the *Pylæ* to fight the *Phocians*, but being denied Entrance by the *Athenians*, returned into *Macedon* with great Glory after so many Victories.

In the mean time *Phayllus* defeated the *Locrians*, called *Epicnemidii*, and afterwards the *Bæotians* at *Arica*, and then dying of a Consumption, was succeeded by *Phalecus* the Son of *Onomarchus*. *Phalecus* was but a young Man, and was quickly worsted by the *Eæotians*, who, upon their Victory, enriched themselves with the Plunder of *Phocis*.

The *Thebans*, now wearied out with the Toils of the *Phocian* War, and exhausted in their Treasures, sent Embassadors to *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, to crave a Supply in Money ; to which he readily consented, and immediately furnished them with three hundred Talents. However, little was done this Year by the contending Parties, except some Skirmishes, and har-rassing one anothers Countries. Soon after, *Philip* made another Expedition into *Thrace*, where he took *Zeira*, and levelled it with the Ground, and brought *Pheca*, and divers other Cities, under his Yoke. He went then to the *Hellepont*, and without a Blow, made himself Master of *Micylerne* and *Torone* by Treachery. And now, regardless of Treaties and Oaths, he fell upon the *Olynthians*, whom he was under an absolute Necessity of conquering, before he durst attempt to make an Invasion upon *Attica*. He overthrew their Forces in two Battles, and then besieged the City, which, after many fruitless Assaults and great Effusion of Blood, was betrayed into his Hands by *Euthycrates* and *Lasthenes*, the chief Magistrates, whom he had

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corrupted. He ordered the Place to be sacked, and the Plunder to be sold, without sparing the Inhabitants themselves. By this Means, he amassed great Riches, and was enabled to buy in more Cities, which he daily did, according to the Advice of the Oracle, *To make his Assaults with Silver Spears.* And indeed, he was no bad Proficient, for he might very justly say, that he had extended his Dominions more by Gold, than by Force of Arms.

The *Athenians*, sensible at last of his Encroachments, and jealous of his growing Power, began now to be justly alarmed for the Liberty of *Greece*. They contributed large Supplies to those Cities, which *Philip* attacked, and sent to the several States of *Greece*, to rouse them up in the Cause of Liberty, and to claim the Heads of the Traytors that were amongst them; promising them their Alliance, and utmost Assistance in so just and necessary a Work. At length, by the particular Advice and Persuasion of *Demosthenes*, they openly declared themselves Enemies to *Philip*, and proclaimed War against him. But alas! so far were the *Greeks* degenerated from their antient Virtue, that no Endeavours were powerful enough to withstand the Charms of *Philip's* Gold. In all their Cities he had his Instruments and Emissaries, who for a little sordid Gain were ready to deliver up to him the Rights and Liberties of their Country, and to sacrifice the Publick to their private Interest. These he called his *Friends* and *Guests*, in other Words, his *Pensioners* and *Hirelings*. In the mean Time the *Bæotians* and *Phocians* were mutually destroying each other, till the former drain'd of Men and Money, were oblig'd to send Embassadors to *Philip* for Assistance. He sent them a considerable Number of Men, that he might not seem to be wanting to so religious a Cause, as vindicating the Rights of *Apollo*; but did not go himself, being employed in the War of *Thrace*, to the great Damage of the *Athenians*. However, to lull the *Athenians* asleep, he propos'd to enter into a strict League

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League and Alliance with them, and by his Insinuations and Presents so corrupted some of the principal Orators, that they concluded a Peace with him for seven Years. Of this inglorious Transaction, *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* in the following Orations, mutually accuse each other, as the Authors. *Demosthenes*, however, if we may credit what he says in the following Oration, advised them to send away their Embassadors to *Philip* to ratifie the League, lest, by delaying the Matter, as usual, he should still proceed to Embarrass their Affairs. In Pursuance of this Advice, five Embassadors were dispatched to him, of whom *Æschines* was one. On their coming into *Macedon*, they were obliged to wait there, or as *Demosthenes* represents the Matter, they had private Motives to invite their Stay, till *Philip* had settled all his Affairs in *Thrace* to his entire Satisfaction, and passed through the *Pylæ* into *Phocis*. The News of his being so near, threw the *Athenians* into such a Consternation, that they immediately ordered all their Goods, which lay in the open Country, to be brought within the Walls of the City. And now the *Thessalians* and *Bæotians* earnestly besought *Philip* to be their Leader against the *Phocians*. On the other hand, the *Phocians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians* endeavoured with no less Earnestness to divert him from the War. *Philip* heard both Sides, but, according to his usual Dissimulation, deluded both, and making them secure by Oaths and Promises, which he never regarded longer than they contributed to carry on his political Ends, seized upon the Streights of *Thermopylæ*. Soon after, in Conjunction with the *Thessalians*, he penetrated into *Locris* with a great Army, and that People finding themselves too weak to oppose him, sent to treat with him; Upon which he allowed them Liberty to depart whither they pleased. Deserted thus by the *Locrians*, the unhappy *Phocians* were obliged to submit to the Terms of the Conquerour. Thus was the *Sacred War* ended by *Philip* without striking a Stroak, in the tenth
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Year after its Commencement. The *Phocians* were severely punished for their Sacrilege by the *Amphictyones*, while *Philip* and his Posterity had the Honour of being decreed a Seat among that illustrious Body, with the additional Privilege of a double Voice, in the Room of the *Phocians*, who had enjoyed it before.

Two Years after, he invaded the *Illyrians* his old Enemies with a powerful Army, took many Towns, wasted the Country, and returned, laden with Booty, into *Macedon*. He then made an Incurſion into *Theſſaly*, where he caſt the Tyrants out of their Cities, which he hoped would ſo effectually recommend him to theſe People as to be enabled to carry on his other Projects with greater Succeſs. Nor was he diſappointed. For the bordering *Græcians*, charmed with ſo much appearing Humanity, very chearfully entred into a League with him. The following Year, he proſecuted his Deſign upon the ſupreme Command of *Greece* with further Succeſs. For *Cerſobleptes* having much diſtreſſed the *Græcian* Cities in the *Helleſpont*, *Philip* exhorted them to unite their Forces to check his Progreſs, and being himſelf made their Commander, marched againſt *Cerſobleptes* with a great Army; overthrew the *Thracians* in ſeveral Encounters, and forced them to pay the tenth Part of the Produce of their Lands, as a Tribute to the Kingdom of *Macedon*. He built Forts in the moſt convenient Places for bridling their Power; by which means, the Cities, being delivered from their Fear, became exceedingly deſirous of his Alliance. The next Expedition he undertook, was againſt *Perinthus*, a ſtrong City, on the Shore of the *Propontis*, whoſe Inhabitants had croſſed his Deſigns, being Favourers of the *Athenians*. During the Siege of this Place, the Inhabitants being relieved from *Byzantium*, and aſſiſted with Men and Money by the King of *Persia*, who began to grow jealous of *Philip's* Power, he met with
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greater Resistance than he expected. So that, leaving the Siege to be carried on by his Captains, he made a sudden Counter-march, and laid close Siege to *Byzantium*.

By this Time, the Differences between *Philip* and the *Athenians* were so heightened, that the Peace was looked upon as broken on both Sides. The *Athenians* sent *Phocion* to oppose *Clitarchus*, a Tyrant set up by *Philip* in *Eretria*, in which Expedition he succeeded so well, that he expelled him out of that City. They also sent Relief to the *Byzantines*, upon the Representations of *Demosthenes*, which are contained in his fourth *Philippic*. They were joined by the *Cbians*, *Coans*, *Rhodians*, and several other States, which so terrified *Philip* for the Present, that he was obliged to yield to the Necessity of his Affairs, and to come into a general Peace with them all. For, *Demosthenes* having persuaded the *Athenians* to forget all Injuries committed in the *Social War*, they sent Aid to the *Byzantines* and *Perinthians*; and he himself being sent Embassador to their Cities, wrought upon them so effectually, as he tells us in his following Oration, that besides their ordinary *Militia*, they raised fifteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, and levied large Subsidies to pay them. *Philip*, having raised the Siege of *Byzantium*, went and invaded the *Scythians*, whom he overthrew by Policy. In his Return he was oppos'd by the *Triballi*, who refused him a Passage, unless he consented to give them Part of his Booty. But he, disdainng the Condition, forc'd his Way, tho' not without the utmost Danger of his Life, being wounded in the Thigh, and having his Horse at the same Instant kill'd under him.

Two Years after, having drawn most of the *Greeks* into a Confederacy with himself, he openly aspired to the Sovereignty of *Greece*; in his Way to which, the *Athenians* seemed to be his only Obstacle. To intimidate them therefore, he first seized upon *Elatea*, a City of *Phocis*, and calling his Forces thither, resolved

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speedily to make War upon the People of *Athens*, hoping to have less Work by taking them unprepared, and while they remained Secure, on account of the lately concluded Peace. The *Athenians* were thrown into an exceeding Consternation at this, and for some Time remained silent after they were assembled together upon the Alarm which the Magistrates, as *Demosthenes* tells us, had caused to be sounded all the Night after they received the News. All their Eyes were now turned upon *Demosthenes*, who perswaded them to send to the *Bæotians* for Assistance in Defence of the Liberty of *Greece*. Upon this Errand he was dispatched himself, and so wrought upon them by his Oratory, as he boasts himself in the following Oration, that notwithstanding their Obligations to *Philip* in the *Phocian* War, they chearfully came into the Measures of the *Athenians*. Encouraged by this Accession of Strength, which almost doubled their Forces, they dispatched their Army under the Command of *Chares* and *Lysicles* to *Chæronea* in *Bæotia*. All the Youth chearfully enrolled themselves for the Expedition; and the *Bæotians*, with equal chearfulness, hastened to join them and wait the coming of the Enemy. *Philip* sent his Embassadors to the Council at *Bæotia*, to endeavour to withdraw them from the *Athenians*. *Python*, an able Statesman, great Orator, and one who had learned to lye with a good Grace for his Master's Interest, was one of these Embassadors, and so far imposed upon the *Thebans*, as to satisfy them with captious Conjectures, and frivolous Protestations. In comparison of him, the Collegues of *Demosthenes* spoke Nonsense, and were scarcely heard. But when *Demosthenes* began, he undeceived the stupid *Bæotians*, laid open the Dangers which threatened their Country with Ruin, and made them resolve immediately to conclude the Alliance he proposed. The Success of which important Negotiation, he extreamly extols, and places at the Head of his politic Exploits, in the following Oration. *Philip*, however, was not discouraged, but resolv-

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resolved to engage them both, and with an Army of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, invaded *Bœotia*. He overmatched his Enemies, as well in Military Conduct, as in Numbers. For all the great Captains of *Athens* were now dead, and *Chares* their present Commander, that unworthy Successor of *Timotheus*, *Iphicrates*, and *Chabrias*, but who would have eclipsed them all, had he been as just in keeping his Word as he was confident in giving it, had the largest Share in the Misfortunes of that Day. A fierce and bloody Battle was fought at *Chæronea*, which continued for a long Time doubtful, till *Alexander*, *Philip's* Son, first made his Enemies give Ground in one Wing, and thereby gave his Father an opportunity to make the like Impression on the other, and to compleat the Victory. Of the *Athenians*, there were above a Thousand slain, besides two Thousand made Prisoners; and of the *Bœotians* a much greater Number. *Demosthenes* is said to have thrown down his Arms, and betaken himself shamefully to Flight in this Action, for which he is frequently upbraided by *Æschines* in his Oration. This Defeat, so often called by *Demosthenes*, *The unfortunate Defeat*, put an End to the Liberties of Greece, and gave to a petty King of *Macedon*, that Sovereignty of Greece, which the powerful Monarchs of *Persia* had so often aspired to in vain. This terrible Misfortune proved fatal to the *Athenians*, and plunged them into Difficulties, from which they were never afterwards able to recover. *Philip* placed a Garrison of his own in *Thebes*, but made a Peace and Alliance with *Athens*, by the Means of *Demades* the Orator. After the Fight, the *Athenians*, notwithstanding the Peace with *Philip*, greatly fearing a Siege, resolved to fortifie their City; and *Demosthenes* at his own Charge repaired a great Part of the Wall, for which, and other Services, *Ctesiphon* thought he was worthy of being honoured with a Crown of Gold, and to have publick Proclamation made of it in the Theatre of *Bacchus*, at the grand Festivals,

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stivals, to which, Crowds resorted from all the Sates of Greece; that being the usual Reward in those Days conferred by the People of *Athens* on such as had done eminent Service to their Country. This was no more than has been constantly done by all wise States, upon such Occasions. For nothing is more certain, than that the conferring of such Honours, tends to the Profit, as well as the Glory of a Commonwealth, by raising an Emulation amongst its Members to excel in publick Virtue. The less expensive indeed that these Honours are to the Publick, they are, perhaps, so much the more for its Advantage. And therefore the *Romans*, as well as *Greeks*, shewed their Wisdom in this Respect, by establishing at first a great many honourary Rewards, which gave only Place and Distinction, without either Wealth or Power to the Possessors, such as *Oaken Garlands*, and *Mural Crowns*; for the obtaining of which, their Citizens were wont to undertake the most hazardous Enterprizes, with the utmost Ardour and Chearfulness; but in process of Time, they bestowed golden Crowns on such as eminently deserved of their Country. However, this Reward decreed to *Demosthenes*, could not intrinsically be of any great value, any further than as it was an Acknowledgement of his superior Merit. Yet *Æschines* was too envious to let him enjoy it peaceably, and so preferred his Accusation against *Ctesiphon*, or rather against *Demosthenes* himself, under pretence of its illegality, and likewise because *Demosthenes*, in his Opinion, had not merited that Distinction by any Services done the Commonwealth.

Philip, after the Victory at *Chæronea*, immediately enlarged his Views, and conceived no less a Project than the Conquest of *Asia*. In order to this, partly by Power, and partly by Artifice, he procured himself to be named Generalissimo against the *Persians* by all the *Greeks*, the *Lacedæmonians* only excepted. The next Year, having sent three Captains into *Asia*, namely, *Atalus*, *Parmenio*, and *Amyntas*, under pre-
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tence of setting the *Greek Cities* in *Asia* at liberty, he was in the midst of all his great Designs slain by the Hand of an Assassin, named *Pausanias*, a *Macedonian* Youth, whom he had suffered to be abused, just at the Time that he was celebrating the Nuptials of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with *Alexander* King of *Epirus* in the most pompous and magnificent manner.

Thus fell *Philip* of *Macedon*, a Prince, who, in about 24 Years, subdued several Provinces of *Thrace*, *Illyria*, and other Countries; and who, more by Craft than force of Arms, seized on that Authority, which *Athens*, *Sparta*, and *Thebes* had successively exercised in *Greece*. A Prince, who made it his Business to sow Divisions among his Enemies; who took care to divert and elude the Blows that threatened him, that he, in his Turn, might strike with the greater certainty; a Prince, equally cautious in good as well as bad Fortune; who never mismanaged a Victory, but was alike prepared either to obtain or pursue it; who delayed, or made haste, as the Posture of his Affairs required; who left nothing to the fantasticalness of Chance, but what was out of the reach of Prudence; always unshaken, and always fixed in the just Bounds that separate true Valour from rashness: Qualities, absolutely necessary to a Prince, who was to make his Fortune, and who could form no great Designs, till he had subjected a Nation the freest, the most Politic, and Warlike of any in the World.

Alexander his Son succeeded him, aged about twenty Years, and quickly undeceived those who despised him on account of his Youth. In the Number of these was *Demosthenes* himself; who, having received private Intelligence of *Philip's* Death, harangued the People, and pretending, that he had learned it by a Vision, stirred up the *Athenians* against *Alexander*, and pressed them to oppose his Pretensions to the Sovereignty of *Greece*. For this End, they entered into a
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Conspiracy with *Atalus* the Uncle and Competitor of *Alexander*, in order to destroy the latter, and fix the former on the Throne of *Macedon*, in his Room. The *Ætolians* made a Decree to recal the *Acharnanian* Exiles, whom *Philip* had banished. The *Ambraciots* expelled the Garrison they had been obliged to receive, and restored the Democracy. The *Thebans* also decreed to cast out the Garrison, imposed on their Citadel, *Cadmæa*. Nor were the *Arcadians*, who had refused to consent, that *Philip* should be General of *Greece*, any thing better disposed towards his Son. All the rest of the *Peloponnesians* likewise, as the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, appeared ready to assert the common Liberty. Thus was *Alexander* opposed by a very formidable Confederacy. But he proved superior to all these Obstacles. Some he gained by Treaty and Negotiation; others by Terror and force of Arms; and signalized himself by so many great and gallant Actions, that the *Theffalians* and *Amphictyones* found themselves obliged to chuse him Captain-General in the Room of his Father. This done, he led his Army into *Beotia*, and pitched his Camp near the Citadel, *Cadmæa*. The *Athenians*, who now no longer slighted him, removed all their Goods into the City, and fortifying it as well as they could, sent their Submissions for not having acknowledged his Sovereignty sooner. *Demosthenes* was appointed one of the Embassadors upon this Occasion, but returned back when he had gone but about one half of the Way, either because he dreaded him on account of the Orations he had made against his Father, or because he would not forfeit his Credit with the King of *Persia*, from whom *Æschines* accuses him to have received very considerable Bribes to oppose the *Macedonian* Interest. *Alexander* answered the Embassadors to their Satisfaction, and then summoned the Deputies of all the States to meet him at *Corinth*, where he prevailed upon them to declare him their General again, and to decree him Aid for carrying on
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the War against the *Persians*; and having thus far happily accomplished his Affairs, he returned into *Macedon*, the Enterprize he had undertaken, requiring a vast Preparation.

In the Spring following, *Alexander* punished several People in *Thrace*, *Pæonia*, and *Illyria*, who had raised Disturbances against him, and compelled them to submit to his Government. While he was thus employed, he received Advice, that many of the *Greeks* had a design to revolt, and that several Cities, particularly *Thebes*, had already actually renounced his Authority. Upon this, he returned into *Greece* with all the Rage of a young Conqueror. The *Thebans*, in the mean Time, had besieged the Garrison, which he had left in the Citadel, *Cadmæa*; the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Athenians* assisted the *Thebans* upon this occasion. The *Athenians* were perswaded to this by *Demosthenes*, who reigned in their Assemblies by the Power of his Eloquence. He, is said also, to have wrote Letters to *Alexander's* Captains in *Asia* to rebel against their Master, whom he called, a *Boy*, and a *Fool*. But *Alexander's* sudden March into *Bæotia* soon cooled both the Valour of the *Athenians*, and the Heat of *Demosthenes*, inso-much, that they quitted the *Bæotians*. The *Thebans*, thus abandoned by their Allies, upon *Alexander's* approach, called an Assembly to consult what should be done in so great an Extremity, where it was unanimously agreed, to prolong their Liberty to the last, and die gloriously in its Defence. This Resolution obliged *Alexander* formally to besiege their City. He attacked it with the utmost Fury, and in three Days took it by Storm, cutting the *Thebans* in Pieces to the Number of six Thousand, besides thirty thousand Wretches that became his Prisoners. A noble Sacrifice to the Cause of Liberty, that glorious Birth-right of all Mankind; but a Loss, never enough to be lamented, did it not give occasion for some of the most pathetick Strains in the following Orations. Upon this Success, *Alexander* assembled a Council of the *Greeks*,

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to whom he referred what should be done with the *Thebans*; and this Council, no longer indeed *Greeks*, decreed the City to be levelled with the Ground, the Captives to be sold for Slaves, and the Fugitives never for the future to be entertained in any part of *Greece*. This Sentence, framed to the Humour of a Tyrant, was by the Tyrant executed with all possible rigour, the better to terrifie the other States of *Greece* from ever looking up to those glorious Priviledges from whence they had fallen. *Alexander* immediately published an Edict, forbidding all the *Greeks* to receive the *Theban* Exiles. This Edict the *Athenians* alone refused to obey, setting open their Gates to receive them. This Conduct of theirs so much enraged this young Destroyer of Mankind, that it was some time before he could be prevailed upon to forgive them, and then, only upon this Condition, that they should deliver up to him eight, or ten of their principal Orators and best Patriots: Among whom *Demosthenes* was sure not to be forgot. The *Athenians* not knowing how to behave upon this Emergency, *Phocion* called the Good, endeavoured to perswade the Orators to kill themselves like compassionate Citizens, rather than bring their Country into danger. The People were filled with Indignation at this Proposal, and expelled *Phocion* in a Tumult. However, *Demades* the Orator soon perswaded them to Mercy, being, 'tis said, hired by *Demosthenes* for that purpose with five Talents of Silver. Upon this, the *Athenians* framed an Answer to *Alexander*, which contained an Apology for the Orators, and a Promise, that if they were guilty, they themselves would punish them according to the Laws. *Demades*, with some others, were sent to *Alexander* with this Answer, and directed at the same Time to beg his Permission to entertain the *Theban* Exiles. *Alexander* was greatly wrought upon by *Demades* his Eloquence, and with some Difficulty complied with all his Requests; either because the Tyrant retained a secret Veneration for the *Athenians*, or that he did not care to let so small a Concern

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cern divert him from the great Enterprize he had in view.

Alexander, having quieted *Greece*, returned into *Macedon*, and prepared to set forward upon his *Asiatic Expedition*; the memorable Success of which, being already so well known, and not pertinent to my present Design, I shall not repeat what is to be met with in so many Historians.

About the sixth Year of *Alexander's* Reign, when, like a mighty Torrent, he swept all before him in *Asia*; these two Orators, *Æschines* and *Demosthenes*, found the melancholly Situation of the Affairs of their Country a very proper Juncture to upbraid each other, with having been the Cause of all its Calamities.

Æschines was a Man, that came into Life, under all the Disadvantages, that are the common dead Weight upon the Hopes of rising in the World, namely, a mean Parentage, a stinted Education, and a narrow Fortune. *Photius* indeed says, that he was the Disciple of *Plato*; *Suidas*, that he was a Hearer of *Antalcidas*; of that *Antalcidas*, who, according to *Pausanias*, was employed by the *Spartans* to negotiate a Peace for them with the *Persians*. However this may be, at his first setting out, he ran through different Fortunes. A loud strong Voice first recommended him to the Stage. With this Circumstance *Demosthenes* perpetually upbraids him; the *Noisy Player*, the *Stalking Buskin*, and *Tragic Pomp*, being common Places of Satyr with him. Not succeeding on the Stage, he became Usher to his Father upon the Strength of some Scraps of Plays which he had remembered. This not answering, he turned *Soldier*, or as others say, an *Athleta*. Tired of this, he hired as Clerk to a Notary, Hence *Demosthenes* calls him *πραιματοκύβαν*, a Man that for his great Virtues walked the Streets with a portable Pillory about him, and

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and stooped in his Shoulders by doing so: *περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς*, a broken Solicitor, though indeed he might as justly have been called *περίτριμμα τύχης*, the Rubbing-Post of Fortune. At last, partly perhaps from the Seeds of Education, and partly from being a constant Auditor of the Eloquence of the Court, he sets up for an Orator. Here he succeeded so well, that he was chosen one of the ten publick Orators of *Athens*. And had his Integrity been equal to his Abilities, he would have been transmitted to Posterity, as a Standard of antient Worth: But certain it is, that he was a Mercenary, a Pensioner of *Philip*, a Hackney-Writer under *Parablesius*, or as others call him, *Probalusius*, who was a very popular Man in *Athens*; and his Treachery to his Country is plain, by his Intention of going to *Alexander* after his Banishment.

On the other Hand, *Demosthenes* was well descended; his Father, according to *Plutarch*, being a Citizen of good Rank, and not a Black-smith, as *Juvenal* represents him; and he himself the Scholar of *Isæus* the Orator, or, as *Photius* says, of *Isocrates*. *Hermippus*, *Agelius*, and *Cicero* affirm him to have been the Hearer of *Plato*. He had also three Masters, as *Photius*, *Plutarch*, and *Quintilian* inform us, to instruct him in the Comeliness of Gesture, Justness of Motion, and Graces of Elocution. His Constitution was but weak, which was in a great Measure owing to the tender and delicate Education given him by his Mother *Cleobule*, and therefore he was often called *Batalus* in Derision when young, and afterwards *Argas*, on account of his uncouth Behaviour, and the Harshness of his Voice. He had naturally a great and noble Genius for all the Sciences, and a Spirit that enabled him to surmount the many Difficulties he met with in his Endeavours after Eloquence. In the Administration of publick Affairs he was employed very early, *Plutarch* says, in the twenty-seventh, but others, with

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with greater Probability, in the thirty-third Year of his Age, towards the End of the *Phocian War*. In his publick Capacity he acted the Part of an excellent Statesman; his only Ambition being to secure the Liberty of his Country; for which End he bravely ventured to contend with mighty Kings and Tyrants. The Cause he undertook in the Commonwealth was very honourable, the Defence of the *Greeks* against *Philip*, *Alexander*, and the *Macedonians*; in which, he behaved himself so worthily, that he soon grew famous, and was admired, almost to a Degree of Idolatry, all over *Greece*, for his Eloquence and Courage in speaking. The great Kings of *Persia* courted him; and *Philip* himself esteemed him more than all the other Orators of *Athens*. His very Enemies were forced to confess, that they had to do with a Man of Worth and Honour. Things, seldom said of a Prime-Minister of State. He was firmly attach'd to his Principles, and never forsook the Party, or the Cause, which he had espoused in the Beginning. His Scheme of Policy was all of a Piece, and did not vary with the Humours or Disposition of the Times. So great was his Love towards his Country, that he constantly pursued its Good, to the Neglect of his own private Affairs; and though he was ungratefully used by the People of *Athens*, he sought no other Revenge than to make them sensible of their Error by new and continual Labours for the Service of the Commonwealth: Qualities, never enough to be admir'd in any Age or Country. But it would be superfluous in this Place to speak of all the Harangues, Negotiations, Embassies, Treaties of War and Peace, secret and publick Intelligences, and of all the Expeditions of *Demosthenes*.

I shall only observe, that thesetwo Orators, *Aschines* and *Demosthenes*, were of two different Factions in the Commonwealth, and were long Rivals to each other in a State, where the Art of speaking well, was cultivated in the highest Degree, and an Excellence

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in it, the readiest Way to arrive both at Reputation and Power. They had both, in their Turns, exercised some of the highest Employments in the State, and having all along been of opposite Parties, there could not be wanting frequent Occasions, either real or pretended, of accusing each others Conduct. Accordingly, *Æschines* having about eight Years before, or as *Plutarch* says, Ten, preferred an Accusation against him, upon the ill Success of the *Græcians* at *Chæronea*, prosecutes him now with the utmost Bitterness, alledging, that *Ctesiphon* had proposed to honour him with a Crown, without any Manner of Foundation. The Truth of this Charge *Demosthenes* positively denies, and asserts, on the contrary, that he had not only advised, but performed many glorious Actions for the Good of his Country; and indeed, he seems at this time to have been much in the Favour of the *Athenian* People for the many Services he had done them, which could not but be an exceeding Affliction to an Adversary, equally revengeful as ambitious. And therefore, *Æschines*, to shew how little his Antagonist was worthy of that Honour, endeavours to call in Question the whole Administration of his Competitor, and to prove, that the melancholly Circumstances of the publick Affairs, were entirely owing to the Counsels and ill Administration of *Demosthenes*; as *Malecontents* in the best regulated States will often do, when Persons of Honour, Integrity, and Virtue, are possessed of the highest Stations. With this View, he now in the *Archonship* of *Aristophon*, prosecutes the Indictment preferred in the *Archonship* of *Chærondas* against *Ctesiphon*, as guilty of conferring Honours on a Person so far from being worthy of them, that he was rather to be look'd upon as one of the greatest of State-Criminals.

This Contest gave Rise to the two following Orations, spoken nine Years after the Battle of *Chæronea*, eight after the Death of *Philip*, and much about the Time that *Alexander* gained the Victory at *Arbela*.

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A Contest, which may justly be said to be one of the most famous of all Antiquity. “ Never, says *Plutarch*, “ was any publick Cause more celebrated than “ this, both for the Fame of the Orators, and for “ the generous Courage of the Judges: Never was any Affair transacted by two Orators, with greater Heat and Fury, or with greater Application; for they were full four Years in preparing their Matter. This Animosity, says *Cicero*, which resounded throughout all *Greece*, brought together from all Parts a mighty Concourse of Auditors to assist at the Decision; and to see a Trial of Skill between those two great Men, who were so celebrated for their Emulation. And these Orations have ever since been esteemed by the greatest Judges, both antient and modern, to be the brightest Models, in their several Kinds, of the Art of Perswasion. It is said, that *Dionysius* the *Sophist*, meeting that Oration of *Æschines*, which begins thus, “ I never brought the Life or Fortune of any Citizen into Danger, nor did I ever distress any Man “ in the giving up his Accounts; cryed out, *Ob! I wish you had, that you might have left us more of your Orations.* *Cicero* says, there is in *Demosthenes* the insinuating Delicacy of *Lyfias*, the fine and artful Wit of *Hyperides*, the Softness and Elegancy of *Æschines*, and plainly declares to his Friend *Brutus*, “ You see, and “ no one can deny, that *Demosthenes* finishes the same “ Things, which we only endeavour at, and fully succeeded in all the kinds of Eloquence, which we “ have only attempted, and declares particularly, that “ the Oration concerning the Crown, is the very Rule “ and Standard of Eloquence. *Dionysius Halycarnassensis* scruples not to say, “ That *Demosthenes* surpassed in Eloquence all his Predecessors, Successors, and Contemporaries. And *Longinus*, that admirable and judicious Critic, affirms, “ That *Demosthenes*, having united in himself all the Qualities of an “ Orator, born to the Sublime, and compleated by “ Study

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“ Study, does eclipse all that ever pretended to Oratory, and leaves them, as it were, amazed and confounded with Thunder and Lightning. But, it would be endless to repeat all that *Plutarch*, *Hermogenes*, *Lucian*, *Himerius*, *Quintilian*, *Pliny*, *Erasmus*, and others have said of these Orators, particularly of *Demosthenes*. It may suffice to observe, that they all generally agree in this, That the Manner of *Æschines* is softer, more insinuating, and more delicate than that of *Demosthenes*; but that the Latter is more grave, forcible, and convincing. The one has more of Address, and the other more of Strength and Energy. The one endeavours to steal; the other, to force the Assent of his Auditors. In this they both agree, the Harmony and Elegance of their Phrase, and the Strength and Beauty of their Epithets; but with this Difference, that the Figures of the one are finer, of the other, bolder. Both of them thunder and lighten, but *Æschines* does it oftner, and *Demosthenes* longer; it being the Temper of the one to flash, and of the other, perpetually to burn.

In a Word, they both have their several Excellencies to a very great Degree, but especially *Demosthenes*, to whom the most judicious of all Nations have unanimously given the Precedency among the Orators of *Greece*. But had all of them been silent, his Character would have been sufficiently established by the Judgment given in his Favour, as on several other Occasions, so particularly on this, by the politest, and most knowing People, at that time in the World; a Judgment, so remarkable, that *Plutarch* says of it, ‘ That though the Accusers of *Demosthenes* were at that time Men of the greatest Power, and supported by the Favour of the *Macedonians*, yet the Judges would not give Judgment against him, but acquitted him so honourably, that *Æschines* had scarcely the fifth Part of their Suffrages on his Side; and

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‘ and therefore the Effect of this Dispute was fatal to him.’ For, he, being found to have brought in an unjust Accusation, was obliged to undergo the same Punishment he intended for his Adversary, namely, to be banished his Country; a Fate, which every one ought to suffer, who, out of private Pique, Hatred, or Revenge, asperses the Conduct of an honest and able Minister. He retired from *Athens* to *Rhodes*, where he opened a School of Eloquence, that continued famous for a great many Ages. He began his Lectures with the two Orations, which had been the Occasion of his Banishment. His Disciples highly applauded his own Oration; but when he came to that of *Demosthenes*, they were thrown into Transports of Admiration; which when he observed, it is said, he very generously cried out, ‘ But what would you have said, had you heard *Demosthenes* himself pronounce this Oration?’

We are also told, that *Demosthenes* enjoyed his Victory with a great deal of Moderation. For, the Moment that *Æschines* departed from *Athens* in his Way to *Rhodes*, *Demosthenes* ran after him with his Purse in his Hand, and very unexpectedly comforted him with something more substantial than bare Complements, that is, as *Photius* and *Plutarch* inform us, with a Talent: And upon this Occasion, *Æschines* cried out, ‘ Can I ever sufficiently regret leaving a Country, where I have left an Enemy so generous, that I despair of ever meeting elsewhere, with such a Friend. This, I know, is applied by some to *Harpalus*, but others, with more Probability, ascribe it to *Æschines*. He lived the Remainder of his Days in Exile, but he bore it with a Constancy that seemed more like Gaity, and must have risen as well from his natural Sprightliness of Temper, as from any Rules of Philosophy. The Cheerfulness and Easiness of his Humour rendered him very agreeable to the People among whom he

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he was banished : So that, perhaps, he never had lived more happily, than after his Misfortune, and probably would not have died as peaceably at home, as he did among Strangers.

Demosthenes, on the contrary, who not many Years after happened to fall under the same Sentence, did not bear it with such a Degree of *Æquanimity* ; he betrayed many Symptoms of Weakness and Uneasiness ; though it must be confessed, if *Lucian's* Account be true, that, in the Article of Death, his Behaviour was incredible and amazing. For, when pursued by *Archias* the *Macedonian*, he fled into the Temple of *Neptune*, but would never surrender to him. Neither Offers, nor Assurance of Pardon, nor Hopes, nor Fears, nor Promises, nor Threats, nor any other Consideration could shake his Firmness and Courage. He laughed at them all. ‘ The Fear of Death and Tortures, *said he*, was ‘ not the Reason, why I would not surrender my self ‘ to *Antipater*, but, to speak Truth, I have now more ‘ Reason than ever to be extremely cautious of it, for ‘ Fear of having my Integrity corrupted, and being ‘ wrought upon to betray the *Græcian* Cause, and the ‘ Interest of my Country, by joining with the *Macedonians*. Shall I, who have so long pleaded the Cause ‘ of *Greece*, submit to such infamous Terms, and pay ‘ down my Liberty for a Ransom of my Life ? It ‘ is better to die gloriously, than to live scandalously. Then enumerating the Scandal and Infamy it would bring on his Fame, his Country, his glorious Actions, and those of his Ancestors, to owe his Life to the Mercy of others, to *Macedonians*. ‘ No, *says he*, I ‘ will never do it. It is true, ’tis in my Power to ‘ make Peace with the *Macedonians*, and be happy, ‘ if I would follow the Example of *Cathemedon*, *Pitheas*, and *Domades*. But I have too much Reverence for the Memory of *Codrus*, and the Daughters of *Erechtheus*, who died willingly for their Country, ‘ try,

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‘ try, to buy my Life at the Expence of my Liber-
 ‘ ty. I will continue firm to my Country, and will
 ‘ never desert her, because *Fortune* has. An honou-
 ‘ rable Death is the best Refuge for the Unfortunate.
 ‘ I would not willingly dishonour my Country by
 ‘ any Baseness, nor submit to a *voluntary* Slavery. I
 ‘ am resolved not to outlive my Liberty, but perish
 ‘ in the Defence of so valuable a Prize, which is the
 ‘ Best worth living for, and the best worth dying
 ‘ for’. And then, when they would have forced him
 out of the Temple, he laughed at them; and having
 first prayed to the Gods, he laid his Hands on his Mouth,
 and swallowed some Poyson, which he always kept
 by him, in Case of Extremity. And then, as he was
 going out of the Temple, he looked on *Archias*, and
 said, ‘ You may carry this mouldering Carcass to *An-*
 ‘ *tipater*, but as for *Demosthenes*, he is out of thy Reach;
 ‘ and then, bidding him farewell, he expired.

Thus died *Demosthenes* at sixty Years of Age, a
 good Citizen, a great Statesman, and an excellent O-
 rator, whose Memory the *Athenians* honoured with a
 Statue, with Inscriptions, and divers Priviledges gran-
 ted to his Posterity, and by a thousand other Marks
 of a useless Acknowledgment, little better than Ingrat-
 titude: For, the more they expressed their Sorrow for
 losing him, the more they confessed their Fault in
 suffering him to be lost.

As to the following Translation of these celebrated
 Orations, I shall not say much, it being an Affair, in
 which I am too nearly concerned. Doctor *Felton* tells
 us, ‘ That Translation is the nearest Imitation of an
 ‘ Author; it is Drawing immediately from the Life,
 ‘ and copying every Feature to all Advantage and Ex-
 ‘ actness; That a literal Translation is never to be a-
 ‘ voided, but when it it obscures or debases the Ori-
 ‘ ginal;

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‘ ginal ; and a Paraphrase, upon that Pretence, ought
‘ never to be used, but when a literal Translation is
‘ impracticable. I remember, says he, *Horace’s Rule*
‘ very well ; and though there is no Necessity of *ren-*
‘ *dering Word for Word*. like some of your *faithful*
‘ *Translators*, yet where the Language will bear it,
‘ and the Sense and Spirit of an Author can be fully
‘ expressed, I take the most literal *Translations* to be
‘ the best, as well as truest. But, when the Lan-
‘ guage of the Original cannot be rendered in so ma-
‘ ny Words, or when a bare Translation cannot give
‘ the full Force and Beauty of the Original, we must
‘ take a Compass to express them as near as we can ;
‘ and when we have so expressed them, the *Paraphrase*
‘ is indeed no more than the true *Translation*. But,
‘ at the same time, he ingenuously confesses, that
‘ such an *Imitation* is the hardest Province in all the
‘ Parts of Writing. For, though none, says he, but
‘ a good Author can make a good Translator, yet it
‘ is more difficult to *Translate* well, than to write
‘ well. It is no exceeding Labour for every great
‘ Genius to exert, and manage, and Master his own
‘ Spirit, but ’tis almost an insuperable Task to com-
‘ pass, to equal, and command the Spirit of another
‘ Man’. And indeed, this Observation is exceedingly
just. For Translators are bound to their Author’s
Sense. Slaves they are, and labour only on another
Man’s Plantation. They dress the Vineyard, but the
Wine is the Owner’s : If the Soil be sometimes
barren, then are they sure of being scourged : If it
be fruitful, and their Care succeeds, they receive no
Thanks : For the proud Reader will only say, the
poor Drudge has done his Duty. Yet, amidst all
these Difficulties and Discouragements I have essayed
a Translation of these celebrated Orations, pursuant to
the above-mentioned Rules ; but, with what Success,
I must submit to the candid and judicious Reader. I
have

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have endeavoured to preserve the Ideas, the Figures, and the Spirit of my Authors, to the utmost of my Power. To their Meaning I have kept as close as could possibly be done, without losing all their Graces. I have dropt no Sentences, be they ever so obscure, as several of the *Latin* Interpreters have done, but have rather chosen to give perhaps a mistaken Sense of such Passages, than to take upon me to leave them out, as if they were no Part of the Original. The same Fidelity is preserved with Regard to adding or multiplying Words or Phrases, unless where the Conciseness of the Original absolutely required it, in which Case it is unavoidable in Translations, especially from the *Greek*; the *Greek* Language being, as *Dryden* observes, 'Like Ambergrease, a rich Perfume indeed, but of so close and glutinous a Body, that it must be opened with inferior Scents of *Musk* or *Civet*, or the Sweetness will not be drawn out into another Language': But where-ever I have taken this Liberty, I have generally marked the Passages, by putting the Additions in a different Character. That I may have missed the Sense of my Authors in some Passages, is what I shall readily acknowledge; but whoever considers the Difficulty of my Originals, necessarily arising either from our Ignorance of some Customs of those Times and Countries, or from the yet greater Obscurity brought over them by the Presumption and busie Impertinence of foolish Transcribers, conceited Criticks, and *Pedantical Elucidators*, will easily be induced to forgive such Errors. For the Illustration of the more difficult Passages, I have added some Notes, which, though not intended for the Learned, may possibly be of some Use to such as are not well acquainted with the *Greek* Antiquities. As to the Diction, I hope, it will not appear harsh, perplexed, or unnatural. I have avoided all Technical Terms, and made it as plain, clear, and simple as I could, without

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Affectation, far-fetched Expressions, or laboured Periods. I have endeavoured to vary the Style with the Subject, some Parts of these Orations, being close Reasoning, others Narrative, and others perfectly Sublime and Eloquent. However, after all, it must be owned, that neither this, nor any *English* Translation of these celebrated Performances can ever be so sweet, vigorous, and majestic, as the Originals. There is such a noble Harmony of Sound, such Solemnity, such Copiousness, such Comprehensiveness, and such Delicacy of Turn in the Periods of these Orators, as cannot entirely be preserved in any Language of the World. Ours cannot sustain the Sublime, with that Strength and Grace that the *Greek* does. It flattens their Sense and tarnishes their Beauties. Many of their Words will not retain their Elegance in our Tongue, the Beauties of them therefore must of Necessity be lost, because they will not shine in any but their own. It is no more possible, to preserve all the Beauties of any of the Antients in a Translation into the Modern Tongues, than it is for a Tree to preserve all its Verdure and Profuseness when transplanted from a fruitful into a barren Country; with much Care and Tenderness it may live, blossom, and bear, but it can never so chearfully flourish as in its native Soil; it will degenerate and lose much of its delicious Flavour and original Richness. In the same Manner, the bare Construction and Carcass of Authors may indeed remain, but the eminent Graces, the beautiful Features, and the Life are fled. And therefore, it must not be expected, that the bare Reading of these Orations, so different from the Declamations of modern Times, can have the same Effect upon us now in any Translation, that they had on the People of *Athens* Two-thousand Years ago, when spoken by these illustrious Orators, with all those Graces of Pronunciation, and Vehemence of Action so peculiar

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liar to themselves. No ; unless we could transport our selves to *Athens*, and think, and act like the *Athenians* of that Time ; unless we could adopt their Sentiments and Inclinations, and espouse all their Interests, their Quarrels, their Hopes, and their Fears, we can never be able to discern the natural Beauties of these celebrated Performances, nor consequently be so sensibly touched and fired by them. But, though Translations may, in several Respects, fall short of their Originals, yet, they are of use, not only to young Gentlemen, who, in the course of their Studies, are obliged to read the Works of the Antients, but also to the Bulk of Mankind who understand not the Learned Languages ; like Copper-Money, which in Proportion have the same Value as a Piece of Gold ; nay, and are of much greater Use among the People, but still they are light, and have a base Alloy. But, whatever the Imperfections of this Translation may be, I can, with great Honesty, assure my Readers, that they have not been owing to Carelessness, or too much Reliance on my own Judgment. No Helps that any of the Commentators are able to give, (though I have not that Respect for them which they generally meet with in the World), have I been wanting to seek, besides the Assistance of several living Friends, for whose Judgment I have a great deal of Deference ; and whose Names, were I at liberty to publish them, would perhaps give no small Reputation to this Performance. To these Gentlemen I am able to make no other Return than this publick Acknowledgment. However, I cannot forbear mentioning the Assistance I received from my Friend Mr. *James Arbuckle*, who took no small Pains in comparing this Translation with two or three Translations into different Languages, as well as with the Originals, and made several Amendments both with regard to Matter and Stile, for which I shall always
ac-

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acknowledge my self indebted to him. I shall only add, that I shall be very ready, thankfully to amend any Error, that any more discerning Person shall think fit to advertise me of, if ever this Translation should be thought worthy to come to another *Edition*.

E R R A T A.

PAge 13. Line 21. of the Note, from the Bottom, instead of *Ten*, read *Four*, and then add, *but augmented afterwards by Clisthenes to Ten*. Pag. 54. Line 11. of the Note marked B, from the Bottom, after *were*, add, *not*. Page 67. Line 21. dele *Rew*. Pag. 82. Line 7. from the Top, after *Diognetus*, read, *The*. Pag. 223. Line 12. from the Bottom, for *Abens*, read *Athens*. Page 254. Line 7. from the Top, dele, *to*. Page 256. Line 17. from the Bottom, after, *King of*. read *the*. Page 270. last Line but one of the Note, for *Thicket*, read, *Ticket*.



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THE
ARGUMENT
OF THE
ORATION
OF
ÆSCHINES against *CTESIPHON*,
Concerning the
CROWN.

CTESIPHON preferred a Decree, That
Demosthenes, the Son of Demosthenes, of
the Pæanean Tribe, should be honoured with
a Crown of Gold; and that Proclamation there-
of should be made in the Theatre on the Fe-
stivals of Bacchus, when the Tragedians were
acting their Plays, “ Because He constantly
“ had the Interest and Welfare of the People
“ of Athens so much at heart, as to make
“ them the very End of all his Words, and
“ Actions ”. This Decree *Æschines* charged
with being an Infringement of the established
A Laws

The Argument.

Laws of the Commonwealth, and brings an Impeachment, consisting of three general Articles, against Ctesiphon, for the Proposal of it. First, That he had Preferred a Decree for Presenting Demosthenes with a Crown, before he had given in, and passed his Accounts : Whereas the Law positively prohibited any Magistrate to be Honoured with a Crown, until he had Passed them : Which Article regards the main Point in Question. Secondly, That he had ordered Proclamation to be made of the Crown in the Theatre ; though the Law expressly ordained, that no Person whatsoever should be crowned in that Place : And this respects the Quality or Form of the Contest. And then, in the Third and last Place, That he had inserted Falsehoods in the Decree ; For that Demosthenes was neither an honest nor good Man, nor in any respect worthy of being honour'd with a Crown ; and This is to be reduced to the Point of Illegality, in regard there was a Law in Being, which forbid every Person to insert any Falsehood in a publick Decree : And this likewise respects the Form of the Debate. Then he anticipates Three of his Adversary's Objections : Two against the First Article ; in Opposition to which, he apprehended Demosthenes would plead, That he had been no Magistrate ; and that, the Raparation
of

The Argument.

of the Walls, was not properly a Magistracy, but a kind of Curatorship, or Employment : But granting it to be a Magistracy, yet since what he had expended upon them, was not received from the Publick, but disbursed out of his own private Fortune, he therefore lay under no Obligation to account for it : Both which regard the Form of the Contest. Against This, the chief Argument offered by Æschines, is only Conjectural, without any Evidence or Proof to support it ; namely, That Demosthenes had expended nothing of his own, but, on the contrary, had received Ten Talents for this Purpose from the Senate ; and this respects the main Question. To the second Objection, Æschines answers, That when Demosthenes should produce a Law, which impowered the making a Proclamation in the Theatre, provided the People had consented to it ; such Law was to be understood not of Civic, but of Foreign Crowns : And this also relates to the chief Point in the Dispute. To the third Objection he makes several separate Answers : He says, he apprehends, that Demosthenes designed to divide his Defence into four Parts, answerable to the four Periods of Time, into which his Administration was divided. The first Period, he says, commences from the Beginning of the first War waged against Philip, concerning Amphipolis.

The Argument.

The Second, from the Time that the Commonwealth began to enjoy Peace and Tranquility. The Third, from the Beginning of the Second War, to the unfortunate Defeat at Chæronea. And the Fourth contains the present Transactions and Negotiations of the People of Athens with Alexander. As to the first Period, He asserts Demosthenes to have been the Occasion and Author of that base inglorious Peace, which their Commonwealth had made, without the Common Consent of the Rest of Greece. To the Second, That he was the Person, that both advised and incited them to make War against Philip. To the Third, That he was the Author of the Sacred War, of all the Misfortunes that befel the Phocians, and of the Defeat at Chæronea ; in regard, it was he, that by his Perswasions and Entreaties, stirred up the People of Athens, with their Allies and Confederates, to Engage with Philip in that unfortunate Battle. And to the Last, That he did nothing afterwards either by his Advice or Negotiations for the Service of his Country, in Opposition to Alexander. Then he proceeds to criminate and blacken the whole Life of Demosthenes, and in some Instances, the Life of Ctesiphon also, whom he, in a very earnest Manner, requires to Plead in his own Defence. These are the chief Points of

The Argument.

of this Contest, wherein Demosthenes comes off victorious. Some blame Æschines for not dwelling longer upon the Article relating to the Infringement of the Laws ; and for Impeaching so soon the Publick Administration of Demosthenes, who had so gloriously discharged the great Office he had born : However, This is the Point which he chiefly labours and dwells upon ; “ For, says he, I proceed now to the “ last Article of this Accusation, which I shall “ handle with the greatest Accuracy and Exactness, namely, the pretended Reasons, upon “ which Ctesiphon has founded the Title “ of Demosthenes to the Crown.” But let these Men consider, whether Æschines, did not take the best Method that could be devised, in this Matter. For, since every one was of Opinion, That Demosthenes had managed the Affairs of the Publick with the greatest Honour, Integrity, and Virtue, Æschines justly imagined, That all that he could offer on the Point relating to the Infringement of the Laws, would be vain and useless, unless he could work his Audience into the contrary Opinion, and make them believe, That Demosthenes had always been a Person disaffected to the People, and a most base and iniquitous Minister of State : And for this Reason it was, that he laboured this

The Argument.

Point most, and dwelt longer upon it, than on any other Article of the whole Impeachment. I shall only add, That some will perhaps find Fault with the Proem, as being too Theatrical, and overdone, and more like a Conclusion than an Introduction.



THE



T H E
O R A T I O N
O F
Æ S C H I N E S
A G A I N S T
C T E S I P H O N.

I.



OU cannot but observe, O Men of *Athens*, what great Preparations are making, what (a) Numbers are drawn up, as if in Battle-array upon this Occasion, and what strong Solicitations are used

(a) *What Numbers are drawn up, &c.*] The Word *παράταξις*, here used in the Original, is a Military Term, signifying a Division of the *Græcian* Army, which consisted of Two *ταξῆς*, that is, Two hundred and fifty six Men. The Orator's Design in making use of it, is, to represent *Ctesiphon* and *Demosthenes*, whose Names he artfully omits, as two factious Persons, who placed their whole Confidence in their Cabals, and appeared in Court with a Retinue, rather suitable to Men who came on Purpose to fight a Battle, than to Orators that came to plead a Cause.

by

by a certain Set of Men throughout the (a) Forum, on Purpose to obstruct the temperate usual Proceedings of this Commonwealth : While I, on the Contrary, come before you, with my Confidence chiefly reposed in the immortal Gods, and after them, in the Laws of my Country, and in your Wisdom ; and with a full Perswasion, that no Arts, nor Management whatsoever, can have greater Force with you, than the Laws of the State, and the Equity of Things.

2. I could wish indeed, O *Athenians*, that the Presidents both of the Senate of Five hundred, and of the Assemblies of the People, took sufficient Care to keep up a regular and orderly Course of Proceedings in them. I could also wish, that the (b) Laws of *Solon* for the better and more decent Regulation of the Orators, might resume their ancient

(a) Throughout the Forum] The *Αγορὰ* or *Fora*, were very numerous in *Athens*, but the most noted of them were two ; the old Forum, and the New. The New Forum was in a Place, called *Εκκlesia* by *Strabo*, (L. 9.) which it is probable was not far from *Zeno's* Portico, in regard *Pausanias* tells us, that, in his Time, the Forum was near that Place. The old Forum was in the *Ceramicus*, within the City, in which were held the Publick Assemblies of the People, though the chief Design of it was for the Meeting of People to buy and sell. In process of Time the Assemblies themselves came to be called *Αγορὰι*, and to make an Oration, *ἀγορεύειν*, as *Harpocration* observes.

(b) That the Laws of *Solon* for the better and more decent Regulation of the Orators] *Solon* was the most excellent Law-giver among the *Athenians*. He repealed all the Sanguinary Laws of *Draco*, except those that concerned Murder ; and having received Power from the People to make what Alterations he thought necessary, he new modelled the Commonwealth, and instituted a great many useful and excellent Laws ; and lest, through the Connivance of the Magistrates, they should in Time be neglected, like those of his Predecessor *Draco*, he caused the Senate and People to take a solemn Oath to observe them, as *Plutarch* and *Diogen. Laertius* tell us, for a hundred Years. Among these Laws

cient Force ; and that, as those Laws have directed, the most aged of the Citizens might, free from all Noise and Confusion, First ascend the (a) Rostrum, and in a grave and modest Manner deliver such Advices thence, as in the Course of his Experience he found to be the best and most serviceable to the Commonwealth : And then, That every other Citizen, who had a mind, might, in the Order of Seniority, singly, and interchangeably, deliver his Opinion

Laws he made some concerning the Orators, Πήτορες : These Orators were Ten in Number, Elected by Lots, to plead publick Causes in the Senate-house, or Assembly, and for every Cause wherein they were retained, they received a Drachm, which, according to Mr. Brerewood, is seven Pence halfpenny of our Money, or as Dr. Bernard computes it, Eight Pence farthing, out of the Publick Exchequer. They were sometimes called Συνηγοροι, and their Fee, το Συνηγορικόν. No Man, according to the Scholiast upon Aristophanes, (in Nubib.) was admitted to this Office under the Age of forty Years ; though others think it was lawful to Plead, both in the Senate-House, and before the Publick Assembly, at the Age of Thirty. Plutarch thinks Demosthenes spoke some of his Orations, when about the Age of Twenty seven, or according to others, at Thirty three ; however that was, they were not permitted by the Laws of Solon to execute this Office, 'till their Valour in War, their Piety to their Parents, and their Prudence in the Management of Affairs, together with

their Frugality and Temperance, had been examined into, and approved. In several of which Particulars, the Orators failed in the Time of Æschines ; and therefore he wishes the Laws might again resume their ancient Force.

(a) Ascend the Rostrum] Βῆμα, signifies sometimes the Tribunal or Judgment-Seat in the Areopagus ; but generally in these Orations, it is taken for the Chair, Pulpit, or Rostrum, from whence the Orations were delivered in the Assembly. I have chosen to make use of the Word Rostrum, it being a Term well understood, and there being no English Word which so fully expresses the Thing ; though I am not insensible, that had this Oration been translated into Latin immediately after it was spoken, a Roman could not have used the Word Rostrum, because no such Word was then applied in this Manner ; for the Suggestum was not adorned with Rostra, or Beaks, till the Victory over the Antiates, which happened, according to Livy, when L. F. Camillus, and C. Manius were Consuls. This was An. U. C. 716. which was the Fourth Year of

nion upon every Particular in Debate, with the utmost Freedom : For, by this Means, as I apprehend, the Affairs of the Publick would be best Administred, and the Frequency of Accusations prevented. But, since all those wise Institutions, which heretofore were confessedly allowed to be for the Honour of *Athens*, are at present grown entirely obsolete : Since some, without the least Scruple, offer Resolutions contrary to the known Laws, which, others, who have not obtained their Places of Presidents in the Publick Counsels, by just and Legal Methods, but by Corruption and Intrigue, by their Suffrages pass into Decrees : Since the same Set of Men do, instead of looking upon the Administration of the Affairs of the Republick to be the common Right of all its Members, esteem it to be entirely their own Prerogative, and threaten to (a) impeach on the Spot such of the Senators as oppose their Proceedings, though legally chosen into the Office of Presidents, and in the Exercise there-

of the Hundredth and Tenth Olympiad, which, I suppose, will be found a few Years after the Date of this Oration.

(a) *And threaten to impeach on the Spot*] *Εἰσαγγελία*, says *Ulpian*, was an Accusation concerning Great and Publick Matters, such as, The Dissolution of the Democracy ; or if an Orator had spoken what was not for the Benefit of the Commonwealth ; if any went to the Wars before they were sent, or betrayed a Garrison, a Fleet, or an Army. In other Accusations, if the Accuser had not the fifth Part of the Suffrages, he was fined a thousand Drachms, and lost the Priviledges of a Citizen, but in this, says *Rous*, it was not so in the

Beginning, though *Dr. Potter*, seems to differ from him : But in Process of Time, because Men would immediately accuse one another for very small Offences, therefore a Law was made, ordaining, that whosoever accused by *Εἰσαγγελία*, and had not the fifth Part of the Suffrages on his Side, was fined a thousand Drachms, though he lost not the Priviledges of a Citizen. This Accusation contained no written Crimes, but was only by bare word of Mouth, and so was the Defence : It was immediately brought before the Senate, according to *Pollux*, or the Popular Assembly, or in some Cases, before the *Archon*.

of,

of, have the Virtue to make a faithful Report of the Number of your Suffrages : And since, by reducing the common People to a servile Submission, and working themselves up to a powerful Tyranny, they have not only overturned (a) all Judgment according to Law, but with Passion determine in Pursuance of Temporary Decrees : Since, I say, there appears such an universal Corruption, it is not to be wondered at, That we now no longer hear that most wise and excellent Proclamation of any yet established in this Commonwealth, “ Who amongst the
 “ Citizens, that are upwards of fifty Years of Age ;
 “ and after them, who amongst the other Athenians
 “ is

(a) They have not only overturned all Judgment according to Law, &c.] The Sense of this Passage has been esteemed very difficult and obscure by most Interpreters. In the Original it runs thus : τὰς κρίσεις τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ ἀλελύχας, τὰς δὲ ἐκ τῶν Ψηφισμάτων μετ’ ὀργῆς κρίνουσι. The Words, μετ’ ὀργῆς, are generally rendered, cum Irâ, but, I apprehend, the Word *Ira*, should not be literally translated, Anger, but rather in a larger and more extensive Sense. For, it is certain, that the Word, ὀργή, sometimes signifies *Passio*, *Affectus*, and that, sometimes in a good, and sometimes in a bad Sense. Thus Pindar (Od. 2. Pyth.) says, that Sycophants, ὀργαῖς εἰσὶν ἀλωπέκων ἰκελοί, (*Quoad Passiones, sunt Vulpibus similes* : In another Place (Od. 1. Pyth.) the same Author uses the Word, ὀργή, to express the beneficent Disposition of one of his Heroes, εὐανθεῖ ἐν ὀργῇ παρμένεων, Upon which

Passage Schmid. one of the best Commentators upon this Poet, makes this Remark ; ὀργὴν Autem hic, non Irâ, sed ut alibi sæpè, impetum aut studium significat, in quovis studiorum genere ; but in this last Sense, it is evident, it cannot be translated in the Passage before us. I imagine therefore, when Æschines says, τὰς κρίσεις, &c. He ought to be understood thus, *Judicia, quæ a legibus oriuntur, dissolvunt seu Evertunt, Ea vero, quæ ex Plebiscitis sunt iracundè, seu, cum passione pronunciant* : But for the better understanding of this Passage, it will be necessary to shew the Distinction betwixt the Word Νόμος and Ψήφισμα, so frequently used in these Orations. Ψήφισμα, was a Decree enacted by the Authority of the Senators only, whose Power being but Annual, their Decrees lost all their Force and Obligation, when their Offices expired. The Manner of passing the Ψήφισμα was this.

is disposed, in his Turn, to make an Oration? In a Word, such is the Licentiousness and Insolence of the present Set of Orators, that neither the Laws, nor the (a) *Prytanes*, nor the Presidents, nor even the Ruling

this. The Business design'd to be pass'd into a Decree was drawn up in Writing by any of the *Prytanes*, or other Senators, and repeated openly in the Senate-House; after which, Leave being given by the President, or *Prytanes*, the Senators proceeded to vote, which they did in private; by casting *Ψῆϋς*, Pebbles in the first Ages, afterwards Beans, into a Vessel placed there for that Purpose. These Beans were of two Sorts, black and white; and if the Number of the former was found to be the greatest, the Proposal was rejected; if of the latter, it was enacted into a Decree, which they called *Ψῆϋσμα*, and sometimes *Περίκλησμα*: In order to pass which into a *Νόμος* or Law, the *Prytanes* wrote it upon a Tablet, and thence it was called *Περίγραμμα*; this they fixed up, some Days before the next Meeting of the Assembly, at the Statues of the Heroes, to be read by all the Citizens, that they might be able to give a more deliberate Judgment upon it. When the Multitude was come together, the Decree was read, and every Man had Liberty to speak the Sentiments of his Mind about the Whole, or any Clause of it; and if after due Consultation, the Assembly thought it inconvenient, it was rejected; if they approved of it, it was passed in

to a *Νόμος*, or Law. So that the *Ψῆϋσμα*, and *Νόμος*, as we learn from *Demosthenes*, and his Commentator *Ulpian*, were the same as to their Obligation; but differed in this, that *Νόμος* was a general and everlasting Rule, or Law, whereas *Ψῆϋσμα* respected particular Times, Places, and Circumstances: And accordingly I have translated this Passage. *They have overturned all Judgment according to Law, and with Passion determine in pursuance of temporary Decrees.* And certainly, wherever such a Practice obtains, it will dissolve the best constituted Polity upon Earth. Indeed the better the Constitution is, so much the greater and more universal is the Danger. Men may remove the Pillars of a House, because they have first called it *Dagon's*, but neither Skill nor Strength can preserve them from perishing in the common Ruin.

(a) *Nor the Prytanes, &c.*] When *Solon* came to the Archonship, he found it necessary to make a new Plan of Government, and to model the Laws anew. A mix'd kind of Government seem'd to be his favourite Scheme; and considering the different Sentiments of an ingenious, as well as warlike People, he thought it best to accommodate his System to the several Tastes of the *Athenians*. The whole

Ruling Tribe, composed, as it is, of the Tenth Part of the whole Commonwealth, are able to repress them.

3. This then being a true State of the Case, and a genuine Representation of the present Condition of Things in this Commonwealth, of which none of you can be insensible; the only surviving Part of our Constitution, (if in such Affairs I possess any Share of Knowledge), is, the (a) Liberty of preferring Accusations against the Infringers of our established Laws: But, if you will also destroy this valuable Privilege,

or

whole Legislative Power he placed in the whole People, or *ἐκκλησία*, who met sometimes in the *Forum*, sometimes in the *Πνυξ*, and sometimes in the Temple of *Bacchus*; but as Multitudes breed Confusion in Business, he chose Fifty of the better Sort, out of each Tribe, which in his Time were Ten, to prepare all Matters for the General Assembly. These were the Senate of Five Hundred, called emphatically, *Βελή*. Out of these he again chose Fifty, to whom he committed the Administration or executive Power, of most public Affairs. These Fifty were all of one Tribe, and governed Five Weeks, by Tens every Week, so that every Tribe ruled in its Turn. These Fifty were called *Πρυτάνεις*; the Time of their Government was called *Πρυτανεία*; the Place of their Meeting *Πρυτανειδόν*, first instituted by *Theseus*. The Ten Weekly Rulers were called *Προεδροι*, from their presiding in the Senate: The Tribe to which they belonged *Πρυτα-*

νεύσα, or *Προεδρεύσα φυλή*. Again, these Weekly Governors chose a President among themselves, and him they called *Επιστάτην τῶν Προέδρων*. So that we see, though *Solon* had first placed the Government in the whole People collectively; yet he was forced to contract it, first to Five Hundred, then to Fifty, then to Ten, and at last in effect to One, the *Επιστάτης*. So that in all the different Forms of Government, Monarchy is the common Principle of Attraction that draws all towards it, and keeps the Political World in its proper Orbit, as the same Principle does the Natural World.

(a) *The Liberty of preferring Accusations against the Infringers of our establish'd Laws.* *παρανόμων γραφή*. This was an Action which might be brought against any Person, who had not taken Care to publish his Proposal of any Law in due time, or who had proposed it in ambiguous and fallacious Terms, but more particularly, against anyone, who

or quietly suffer any other Persons to destroy it, I will venture to foretel, that you will likewise by such Concessions, insensibly destroy the whole Constitution.

Already, O *Athenians*, you very well are apprized, that there are but three (a) different Sorts of Government known amongst Men, namely, (b) Monarchy, Oligarchy, and Democracy. In Constitutions of the Monarchical and Oligarchical Form, the Regulation and Decision of all Matters depends on the mere Will and Pleasure of the Persons governing; whereas, in Democratical States, the known, and only Rule of all Proceedings is the established Laws. Let none of

who had proposed any Thing contrary to any of the former, and received Laws of the Commonwealth. Such an Offender was first arraign'd before the *Thesmothetæ*, according to *Julius Pollux*; or, as others think, sometimes before the *Thesmothetæ*, and sometimes, before the other Archons, according to the different Nature of their Crimes, every Archon having the Cognizance of different Affairs. If the Defendant was declared Guilty, he was usually punished with a Fine, according to his Offence, which he was obliged to pay under the Penalty of *Infamy*; but if the Judges acquitted the Defendant, then the Plaintiff was amerced a thousand Drachms, as a Punishment of his false Accusation, as *Ulpian* informs us.

(a) *Three different Sorts of Government, &c.*] All which the *Athenians* had tried. The first from *Cecrops* to *Theseus*; the second from the Resignation of *Theseus* to the Decennial Archons,

as far as to the thirty Tyrants; and the last from the Expulsion of these Tyrants, to the Time of the present Dispute.

(b) *Monarchy*] The Word *Τυραννος*, which we generally translate, *Tyrant*, is derived, in the Opinion of *Suidas*, from the *Tyrheni*, a People of *Italy*, famous for Cruelty and Robbery. Others think, it was derived from the City *Tyre*, on account of its Riches and Glory: However that may be, it was, in ancient Times, a Word of no ill Signification, but was used in a good Sense, there being no Difference betwixt it, according to *Servius*, and the Word *Βασιλεύς*, or King. For, tho' *Homer*, (who never mentions *Tyre*,) either did not know, or would not use the Word; yet the Poets who follow him, call those Kings that lived before the *Trojan* Times, by the Name of *Τυράννοι*, a Word first used by the *Greeks*, according to *Rous*, about the Time of *Archilocus*. In After-Ages;

of you therefore pretend to be ignorant, but on the contrary, let every one of you be fully assured of this Truth, that whensoever he goes into Court to sit in Judgment on an Accusation of an Offender against the established Laws, he is at the same Time about to pronounce Sentence concerning his own Liberty. For this Reason it was, that our wise Legislator has taken Care, to have this Clause [*I will pass Judgment according to Law*], inserted in the very Beginning of the Oath appointed to be taken by all our Judges; being deeply sensible, that no free State can any longer support it self, than it preserves a religious and inviolable Adherence to the Laws. Whenever therefore, O *Athenians*, you recal the Memory of these Things, it cannot but inspire you not only with the highest Indignation against such as have the Insolence to prefer any Decrees subversive of your ancient Laws and Institutions, but also make you, instead of regarding such Attempts as small and

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Ages, through the dissolute and cruel Behaviour of some Princes, and the Antipathy which the *Greeks* conceived against Monarchy, upon their having generally erected Oligarchical or Democratical Governments, it came to be taken in a bad Sense: In which, it is applied to those in a particular manner, who being once private Persons, enslaved their Fellow-Citizens, by usurping the supreme Power, as to *Polycrates*, *Pisistratus*, *Dionysius*, and *Agathocles*. It is also applied to Children who succeeded their Fathers in the Usurpation; and sometimes likewise applied to those who governed by the Desire and Consent of the People, as to *Gelon* of *Syracuse*, signifying, in this particular, a petty

Prince, or *Regulus*: For in ancient Authors, as *Probus* (in *Miltiad.*) tells us, it was seldom or never applied in an ill Sense to any others, than to the usurping Lords of Cities, (not of Kingdoms,) and such Cities only, as had been before governed in the Way of a Commonwealth. And what is thus said of those Governors called *Τύραννοι*, must be extended to their Government, called *Τύραννις*, which we call Tyranny, though not in a bad Sense. For, certainly the *Athenians* used it not in an ill Sense, when they would have perswaded *Solon* to take the *Τύραννις* or Government upon him: Which Government, or *Τύραννις* *Polybius* calls *Βασιλεία*, or a Kingdom.

pardonable Offences, consider them as the (a) greatest and most dangerous Crimes. Suffer not then, any Person whatsoever to deprive you of this your just and undoubted Right; *nor your selves to be perverted*, either by the Intercessions of your Generals, (who, in Conjunction with some of your Orators, have been so long in a Conspiracy to overturn the Commonwealth), or by the Solicitations of the Strangers you entertain in the City, who have been hired to prevent the publick Justice from laying hold on those Men that have been guilty of the most illegal and arbitrary Proceedings in the publick Administration of Affairs: But, as in a (b) Battle, every one of you would blush to desert the Rank and Station assigned him by his General; so now, be no less ashamed to desert the Station assigned you by the Laws, and shew your selves this Day Guardians of the Liberties of your Country.

4. You ought also to remember, that, at this Juncture, the whole Body of the People have not only committed the City to your Care, but also entrusted you with the publick Liberty; and that some of them are here present to hear the Issue of this important Cause, and the rest of them, though absent on account of their own private Affairs, *yet not less interested in the Success of it*. If then, filled with

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(a) *As the greatest and most dangerous Crimes.*] The Indictment before Conviction was among the Athenians called, *Αἰτία*; after Conviction, *Ελέγχος*; and after Condemnation, *ἀδίκημα*.

Rous's Archæol.

(b) *But as in a Battle, &c.*] The Allusions of *Æschines* are not more to be admired for their Beauty, than their Strength. Here he draws up his Audience, as if they were to fight a *Philip*, or an *Alexander*; he harangues them

like a General just going to engage; and assures them, that the dropping of a Law, is like the deserting their Rank; nay rather, that the one leaves a wider Gap in the Civil, than the other does in the Military Constitution. But at the same time that he interests his Judges in his own Favour, he glances probably at the Cowardice of *Demosthenes*, who is said to have thrown down his Arms, and run away from his Post in the Battle of *Chæronea*.

a just Sense of the Duty you owe to the whole People of *Athens*, and with a due Regard to the Oaths you have taken, and the Laws you have sworn to maintain, you shall, by my Reasonings, have been convinced, that *Ctesiphon*, in preferring this Decree, has acted contrary to the Laws, contrary to Truth, and contrary to the publick Interest; then, O *Athenians*, rescind such an illegal Decree, establish the Democratical Form of Government upon a sure Foundation, and punish in the most exemplary Manner those bold Ministers, who have dared to take such Measures, as are against the Laws, against the Commonwealth, and against the Interest of every one of its Members. And if with a Disposition thus favourable, I shall be so happy as to be heard by you in the Progress of this Accusation, certain I am, that whatever Judgment you shall pronounce, will be perfectly consistent with Justice, consistent with your Oaths, and no less productive of your own, than of the Interest of the whole Commonwealth.

5. What I have already said, is, I flatter my self, all that is necessary to give you a general and comprehensive View of this Accusation. I will beg Leave to add a few Words in relation to those Laws in Force, which specify what Persons are to be reckoned accountable to the Publick, in direct Violation of which Laws, *Ctesiphon* has preferred the present Decree. In former Times, several Magistrates who had been invested with the highest Offices, and trusted with the Management of the Publick Revenues, notwithstanding they had been guilty of the (a) greatest Corruption in the Discharge of them, yet found Means, by the Assistance of certain

B cele-

(a) Guilty of the greatest Cor- | Publick Affair, or pervert Justice.
 ruption] *Σωφροσύνη*, was the ta | It was not thought enough at *A-*
 King of Bribes to manage any | *thens* to punish the Receiver, but
the

celebrated Orators, some of whom they culled out of the Senate, and some from among the People, to get publick Praises and Proclamations previously decreed them, in order wholly to (a) prevent their being called upon to pass their Accounts : By means whereof, not only the Accusers of such corrupt Magistrates, but the Judges themselves, became embarrassed in their Proceedings, to such a Degree, that the greatest Part of those who were obliged to give in their Accounts, and were, upon Trial, fully convicted of having plundered the Publick in the most scandalous Manner, evaded all Censure in the Courts of Justice. Nor does this seem to me in the least surprizing. For, in my Opinion, it would have reflected a great deal of Dishonour on the Judges, if the same Man, who so lately had been presented by the People, at their Publick Shews, with a golden Crown, and proclaimed as a noble Instance of Virtue and Justice, should afterwards, in the same City, and perhaps in the same Year, be condemned, upon passing his Accounts by so august a Tribunal, as a publick Robber, and a Plunderer of the Commonwealth. Pressed therefore with this Difficulty, the Judges found themselves oftentimes obliged to pass Sentence, not according to the Demerit of the Criminal, but in such a Way, as might best save the Honour of the *Athenian* People.

the Person also that offered Bribes, was prosecuted, and the Action against him, called Δεισιμας. All that had been found guilty of Receiving Bribes were fined ten times the Value of what they had gained, and punished with the highest degree of Infamy. *Potter's Ant.*

(a) In order to prevent their being called upon to pass their Accounts] All the Courts, Senates, Magistrates

and Officers of *Athens*, were accountable to the People for every Thing with which they were entrusted; not only for the Publick Money, but for Decrees, Fines, Punishments, &c. This Account was called 'Ευθύη, and if any Man neglected it, the People were not only forbidden to present him with a Crown, but he was also fined by the *Logistæ*. *Potter's Ant.*

6. (a) One of our Legislators therefore, observing so great an Abuse, for Remedy thereof, made a most excellent Law, which, in express Terms, prohibits the Crowning of any Person, of whom Accounts are required, until he hath accordingly passed them. But, though the Author of this Law took such wise Precautions to guard against this growing Inconvenience, yet such subtle Interpretations have been made of it, as tend greatly to abate its Force, and which, unless you are timely forewarned of them, may insensibly lead you into very dangerous Mistakes. For, amongst those, who, contrary to Law, propose to Crown Persons that have not yet passed their Accounts, some, out of an inbred Modesty, (if any Degree of Modesty can consist with such an Infringement of the Laws,) are withheld from doing it in direct Terms, and give the Matter a specious Colour, by inserting in their illegal Decrees some such saving Clause as this, " That such Person as is obliged to Account, shall be crowned after he shall have passed his Accounts, and his Conduct in his Office shall be examined and approved". A Practice This, no less injurious to the Commonwealth than the former ; because in reality the decreeing of Praises and Crowns beforehand, prejudices, and precludes all impartial Examination into their Accounts afterwards. However, he that conceives a Decree in such qualified Expressions, gives his Audi-

(a) *One of our Legislators, &c.* By the Laws of Solon, the *Plebeians*, who were called originally *Θήτες*, consisting of the lowest of the three Orders, into which the whole Commonwealth was divided; had no other share in the Government, than that of preferring Laws to be approved, or rejected, by the General Assembly; and the Privilege of sitting as Judges in the *Heliaem*.

Out of those that had sat there, a Thousand were chosen, whose Business it was, to revise the old Laws, to see what were fit to be repealed, and what fit to be received as new Laws; and these were the *Nomothetæ*. It is to be observed, that the Word *Νόμος* is of a late Date in the Greek Language; it is not to be met with in *Homer*.

tory to understand, that in the very Instant he infringes the Law, he is touched with secret Shame and Remorse for his Crime. But as to *Ctesiphon*, O *Athenians*, he notoriously transgressing the Established Law relating to such as are liable to bring in, and pass their Accounts, and without setting up the Pretence, which I just now mentioned to you, has preferred a Decree ordaining *Demosthenes*, not only before he had passed his Accounts, and his Conduct in his Office had been examined and approved of, but even while he was actually a Magistrate, to be honoured with a Crown.

7. Another Excuse, O *Athenians*, there will also be alledged, not at all consistent with that just now mentioned, namely, That no Person acting in Publick Affairs, meerly by the Commission and Authority of some one particular Tribe, is properly a Magistrate, but rather a kind of Curator, or Agent. The Title of Magistracy, will they say, belongs only to such Offices as either the (a) *Thesmothetæ* distribute by Lot in the (b) Temple of *Theseus*, or are according to Custom conferred by the Suffrages of the People in the Assemblies held for the choosing of Magistrates; such as, the Supreme Command of the

(a) *As either the Thesmothetæ, &c.*] Of the *Archons*, the six Lowermost were called by the common Name of, *Thesmothetæ*. *Θέσμος*, was the original Word for a Law; but when the Sanguinary Laws of *Draco*, were some repealed, and some reformed by *Solon*, to distinguish the one from the other, the Word *Νόμος* was introduced, and so we must understand it in *Νομοθέτης, παρ' ὁμοῦν Ψήφισμα*, &c. Among other Things, it was the Business of these *Thesmothetæ* to take the Suffrages of the People in the Publick Assemblies, and to be Guardians and Protectors of the Laws.

(b) *In the Temple of Theseus*] Great was the Gratitude of the *Athenians* to the first Founder of their Liberty. Many Temples were erected to *Theseus* on this Occasion: The First was built by *Conon*. Often too they rewarded their Deliverers with Statues.

Armies

Armies, the (a) Command of the Cavalry, and other Employments of the same Nature; whereas all other Offices are only to be reckoned Agencies, or Occupations appointed by some particular Decree. Against all these subtle Distinctions, I shall only produce the plain Words of your own Law, which you enacted on purpose to obviate all pretended Objections of this kind. The Author of the Law expresses himself in these very Words, "All those upon whom the People have conferred any Offices by their Suffrages, are Magistrates"); Where, I beseech you to observe, that all Employments disposed of by the Suffrages of the People, are comprehended under the general Name of, *Magistracies*; and then he adds, "And those also, who are appointed (b) Overseers of the Publick Works"; The most important of which Works, the Walls of the City, were particularly committed to the Care of *Demosthenes*: And the Law further says, "And whoever exercises any Employment in the Commonwealth for more than the Space of Thirty Days, or is invested with a (c) Power of determining Matters judicially"; Which Power is constantly given to all Overseers of the

(a) *The Command of the Cavalry*] The ἵππαρχοι were only two in Number, as *Sigonius* informs us, and had the chief Command of the Cavalry next under the στρατηγοί, who were the chief Generals, of whom there were Ten, according to the Number of the Athenian Tribes.

(b) *Overseers of the Publick Works, &c.*] Επιστάται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων. These were Officers, with whom was entrusted the Care, Contrivance and Management of all Publick Edifices, except the City-Walls, for which

there were peculiar Officers, called from their Offices, Τεχνοποῖ, whose Number was usually the same with that of the Tribes, every one of which had the Choice of one Τεχνοποῖς, as often as Occasion required. *Por. Ant.*

(c) *Or is invested with a Power of determining, &c.*] There were at Athens several little Courts, in which all Differences arising betwixt the Labourers employed in the Publick Works, were tryed: Every one of which inferior Courts had its Judge

or

the Publick Works. And what are all these Persons by the Law required to Execute? Not their Agency, or Occupation, but their Magistracy, after that they are (a) examined and approved of by the Publick Court, where even Magistrates that are chosen by Lot must be approved, before they can take upon them the Exercise of their respective Offices. The same Law also obliges them, as well as all other Magistrates, *upon the Expiration of their Offices*, to make up their Accounts, and pass them before the Register, and (b) General Examinators of the Publick Accounts. For the Proof of all which Assertions, I desire the Laws themselves may be read.

or President, who finally determined all Causes, cognizable in that Court. These Judges, *Æschines* here says, were indispensably obliged to give up their Accounts; and therefore infers, that, as *Demosthenes* was appointed Overseer of the Walls, and invested with the Power of determining Matters judicially, he was consequently obliged to Account with the Publick. Others think, that, by the Laws of *Athens*, there were certain Causes brought before several of the Magistrates, who had no Power to determine them by a final Decision, but were only to examine into the Matter, and if it deserved to be heard in the Court, refer it to the Cognizance of the Judges appointed for that Purpose, upon a fixed Day, and this is what they called, Ἡγεμονία δικάσωντων.

(a) *After that they are examined and approved of by the Publick Court*] Though no Man's Quality or Condition could exempt him from bearing Publick Offices; yet his Course of Life and Behaviour might, at *Athens*.

For, if any Man had lived a vicious and scandalous Life, he was thought unworthy of the meanest Office; it being improbable, that a Person who could not behave himself so as to gain Reputation in a private Capacity, should be able to demean himself prudently and wisely in a publick Station; or that he who had neglected his own Concerns, or failed in the Management of them, should be capable of undertaking Publick Business, and providing for the Commonwealth: And therefore, before any Man was admitted to a Publick Employment, he was obliged to give an Account of himself, and his past Life, before certain Judges in the *Forum*, which was the Place appointed for his Examination, which they called Δοκιμασία.

(b) *And General Examinators, &c.*] The Δοκιμασταί, or Examinators of the Accounts were Ten. If any Magistrate neglected to give in his Accounts, they preferred against him an Action, which they called αλογίη δίκη.

The

The LAWS.

8. If therefore, O *Athenians*, these Men shall take upon them to explain into Agencies or Curatorships, those Offices which the Author of the Law so plainly considers as Magistracies, it will be your Business not only to put them in mind of the Law, and confront their Impudence with it, but also to make them understand, that, far from countenancing any wicked Sophister in his Attempts to overturn and prevail against the Laws by the Deceitfulness of Words, you will only be so much more highly incensed, as the Eloquence is greater, that shall be employed in justifying Decrees preferred contrary to your Laws. For, it is the indispensable Duty, O *Athenians*, of an Orator, to speak the same Language with the Laws of his Country ; and whensoever they happen to speak differently, it is no less your Duty to be determined in your Judgment rather by the Reason of the Law, than by the Presumption and Impudence of the Orator.

9. But here it may not be amiss to premise a few Words, concerning that Argument, which *Demosthenes* is pleased to call invincible.

In this manner will he reason. ‘ I own, I was appointed Overseer of the Walls, but at the same Time, I made the *Common-Wealth* a Present of an (a) hundred *Minæ* out of my own Estate, and went beyond my Orders in enlarging the Works. What Room

(a) *An hundred Minæ*] By a *Brerewood*; but according to Law of *Solon's*, a *Mina* was to Dr. *Bernard*, 3. 8. 9. Every contain an hundred *Drachmæ*, *Drachma* containing Eight-pence- i. e. 3. 2. 6. Every *Drachma* farthing of our Money. 7 d. 1 ob. according to Mr.

‘ then

‘ then, can there be for calling me to an Account, unless Men are to be accountable for Acts of Beneficence?’ But you will be pleas’d to hear with what just and pertinent Arguments I shall oppose this artful Piece of Sophistry. In (a) this spacious and antient City, no Person whatsoever that exercises any kind of publick Office in it, is exempted from being called to an Account for his Behaviour in the Discharge of it. Of this I will give you many Instances, and some of them, in the first Place, of an almost incredible Nature. The Priests and Priestesses in general, as well as every particular Person of them, without excepting even such as receive only a Stipend, to implore the Gods in your behalf, are yet by the Laws, made liable to be called to an Account. Nor are even the (b) *Eumolpidae*, nor the *Ceryces*, nor any other publick Societies of the like Kind, any more exempted than private Families. The same Law also extends to the (c) *Trierarchs*, though they are no ways concerned in the Management of the publick Reve-

(a) *In this spacious, &c.] Athens* was, as some report, twenty two Miles in Compass.

(b) *Nor are the Eumolpidae, nor the Ceryces, &c.]* Two Families of antient descent in *Athens*, that supplied the Priesthood. These *Ceryces*, or *Kήρυκες*, were not State-Heralds, as *Wolfius*, *Lambinus*, and others have imagined, but a kind of religious Officers, that offered up Prayers in the Assemblies, commanded Silence in the publick Worship, proclaimed the Festivals, and dismissed the People: And this was the reason of the Name, *Κήρυκες*, according to *Athen: L. 14.* and *Casaubon*. The learned *Meursius* tells us, the *Eumolpidae*, were descended from *Eumolpus*, who first instituted

the Mysteries of *Ceres*, at *Eleusis*: and the *Ceryces*, from *Ceryx*, the Son of *Mercury*.

(c) *To the Trierarchs.]* The Word *Τριηραρχος*, does not in these Orations signify a Master of a Ship, as it originally imports, but one whom the Law obliged to set out a Galley at his own Expence, and to provide, as *Plutarch* tells us, all sorts of Necessaries for the Fleet. In which Sense it is also used by *Xenophon* in the second Book of his History of *Greece*. To this Office no certain number of Men was nominated: but their Number was encreased or diminished, according to the Value of their Estates, and the Exigencies of the *Common-Wealth*.

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nues; Persons, who neither plunder your Treasury, and afterwards charge the Publick with exorbitant Sums, when in reality they have expended little or nothing; nor make (a) false Pretences of contributing to the Publick out of their own Estates, while they are only paying it back some small Part of what they had fraudulently drawn from it: No, but Persons, who, on the contrary, have confessedly approved their Conduct in voluntarily devoting their paternal Fortunes to the publick Welfare, from a laudable Ambition of recommending themselves to your Favour. Nor are the *Trierarchs* only included in this Law, but it reaches to the highest Councils in the State, and obliges them all to undergo a strict Examination of their Accounts. For, in the first Place, The (b) supreme Court of the *Areopagus* is appointed to enroll and pass their Accounts with the Examinators of the publick Accounts, and to

(a) Nor make false Pretences of contributing to the Publick out of their own Estates, &c.] The Words, ἐπιδιδόναι and ἀποδιδόναι used in the Original, have very different Significations: ἐπιδιδόναι signifies, *insuper dare*, *donare præterea*, to give liberally, or contribute voluntarily; but ἀποδιδόναι *reddere*, *retribuere*, to return, or restore. The former was a Word, as *Theophrastus* tells us, always applied to generous, but the latter to niggardly Citizens.

(b) The supreme Court of the *Areopagus*, &c.] This Court was called the ἄνω Βουλὴ the upper Senate, in respect of its Dignity, as it consisted only of the Nobility of *Athens*, or upon

account of its great Authority, or perhaps, upon account of its high Situation: For the Name seems to have been given it from its Situation upon *Mars's* Hill. Who the Founder of it was, is uncertain. Some make it as antient as *Cecrops* the first Founder of *Athens*; others think it was instituted in the Reign of *Cranæus*; and others in the Times of *Solon*. What seems most probable is, that the Senate of *Areopagus*, was first instituted a long time before *Solon*; but was continued, regulated, and augmented by him. The Number of the Persons that composed this venerable Assembly, is likewise not agreed upon; by some it is restrained to Nine, by others en-

to be accountable to you for their most severe and important Decisions. But shall not the Members of the Senate of *Areopagus* be crowned? No, it is not (a) a Custom derived down to them from their Forefathers. But are they not highly ambitious of acquiring so distinguishing an Honour? Certainly they are; and yet, even they are content not to receive that Honour, though they think it not enough to abstain from all Crimes themselves, but take care to punish them with the utmost Rigour in others: Whereas, your worthy Orators are pleased to give themselves their

enlarged to Thirty One, by others to Fifty One, and by some to more. The nine Archons were the constant Seminary of this Assembly. This Court was remarkable for the justice of their Sentences, the unblamableness of their Manners, and their wise and prudent Behaviour in the *Common-Wealth*. Hence their Decisions are by the Orator, called *συνδρονται* or severe, and *μεγιστα*, or very great and important, in regard they seldom intermeddled in the Management of publick Affairs, except in cases of great and imminent Danger; and in these the *Common-Wealth* usually had recourse to them, as the last and safest Refuge; and hence are they said not only to abstain from all Crimes themselves, but to punish them with the utmost Rigour in others, being themselves exceedingly composed, serious, and innocent in their Lives, Words, and Actions, and exceedingly severe upon the Faults of others.

(a) *It is not a Custom derived down to them, &c.*] The Text is so perplexed in this Place, that as it lies before us, one cannot well say, whether *Æschines* affirms, that these Senators are not at all to be crowned, or then only when their Accounts are passed. The former indeed seems more probable upon the Authority of *Hesychius* and *Meursius*, whom *Dr. Potter* follows, who says, that the Senators of *Areopagus* were never rewarded with Crowns for their Services, not being permitted to wear them; but received a sort of Maintenance from the Publick, which they called *Κρέας*: And this seems to be farther confirmed, in that their Offices were not Annual, but for Life, and therefore could not be crowned. But however that may be, it is very plain, that these Senators always desired that their Actions might be brought to a publick Examen, and if they deserved Punishment, cheerfully suffered it.

very

full Swing in all manner of Licentiousness. Again, the Author of the Law has made the whole Senate of Five Hundred accountable; and is so extremely jealous of such as have not passed their Accounts, that in the very beginning of it, he expressly prohibits all Magistrates from travelling out of the Country, before they have done it. But, Oh *Hercules*! will some one perhaps say, because I have been a Magistrate, must I be restrained from travelling? *As hard as this may seem*, the Reason for it is very plain; it is, lest Men, who have embezzled the publick Treasure, or been guilty of Male-Administration in any other Instance, should have an Opportunity of escaping the publick Justice, by their flight. Moreover, the Law prohibits all Persons that have not passed their Accounts, from disposing of any of their Substance to the most sacred Uses, from hanging up votive Offerings in the Temples of the Gods, from (a) being adopted into strange Families, and from nominating Heirs to their Estates, and lays them under a Multitude of other Restrictions. And to add no more, the Law lays hold of the Effects of such Persons as have not passed their Accounts, and makes them stand as a Pledge or Security to the Publick, until they shall pass them. Well, but they will further object, What if a Man has neither ever received, nor disbursed any Part of the publick Money, but has only discharged some other publick Employment? Why, even in that Case, he is oblig'd by Law to give an Account thereof to the publick Examinators. But, how shall a Man account with the Publick for Money, which he never was concern-

(a) *From being adopted* <sup>ἐκποιή-
τον.</sup> This way of grafting Families upon a foreign Stock, was managed with great Caution and wise Limitations. The Person adopted was so perfectly transplanted into another Kindred, that he lost all Right of Inheritance in his own; and therefore in respect of his own, he was called ^{ἐκποιήτης}; and with respect to the Family, into which he was adopted, ^{εἰσποιήτης}.

ed either in receiving or disbursing? To this the Law returns a very full and plain Answer, by directing such Persons to insert in the Archives of the Treasury an express Article, ' That they never did either receive ' or issue out any of the publick Money.' For, in this *Common-Wealth*, there is no Affair which must not be accounted for; no Business to be done that must not submit to a close Examination; nor any Man's publick Actions to be passed by, without undergoing the most nice and accurate Scrutiny. In confirmation of the Truth of what I am saying, hearken to the Laws themselves.

The L A W S.

10. When therefore *Demosthenes* shall with the utmost Confidence triumph in this Argument, saying, he is not liable to account with the Publick for any liberal Action, do you remember to make him this Reply. True, *Demosthenes*; but then, ought you not to have permitted the Examiner's Cryer to make this usual and legal Proclamation, ' Who has a Mind to accuse? Suffer, I beseech you, every Citizen that pleases, to (a) contest this Matter with you, and examine, whether you have not unjustly laid claim to the Title of Benefactor, since you expended but a very inconsiderable Sum in repairing the Walls, though you received (b)

(a) *To contest this Matter.*]
Αυφ.σεχτησις, was properly a Suit commenced by one that made pretensions to the Estate of a deceased Person, as being his Son, either by Nature, or Adoption; but this Term is often taken in a larger Sense, and applied to all Law-Suits in general. *Porter's Ant.*

(b) *No less than ten Talents.*
 &c.] A Talent of Gold in *Attens*, was according to Mr. *Brerewood's* Computation

3000 00 00

According to Dr. *Bernard's*,

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no less than ten Talents for that purpose from the Republick. Do not, I beseech you, arrogate to your self the Honour and Praise of so liberal an Action, nor violently extort the Suffrages of your Judges, nor take upon you in political Matters to precede, but rather vouchsafe to follow the Laws; for this is the only proper Method to establish and maintain the Rights and Liberties of a democratical Constitution. Hitherto I have set my self to speak only to the general inconsiderable Arguments, and slight Pretences, under which they hope to screen themselves. But, that *Demosthenes* actually stood accountable at the Time *Ctesiphon* preferred this Decree, being then a Magistrate in a double Capacity, both as (a) Treasurer of the Theatrical Money, and chief Overseer of the Walls, and did not pass his Accounts for either of these Magistracies, I will now en-

(a) *Treasurer of the Theatrical Money.*] *Θεωπικὰ χρήματα* were a Fund for religious Uses among the *Athenians*, such as Festivals, Games, and Plays, for these were part of their religious Worship. It is not easy to say, whether Devotion or Diversion here claimed the Merit; but it is certain that they were afterwards more willing to contribute to a generous War, than to pay for Entertainments, with which they used to be treated. The Treasurer of this Money had the Disposal of it for the Uses above mentioned: But the greatest and most troublesome part of his Office consisted in distributing it to the poor Citizens to buy Seats in the Theatre; which Custom was, according to *Plutarch*, (in the Life of *Pericles*), first begun and enacted into a Law by *Pericles*, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty; for, as *Libanius* observes, in the primitive Ages of the *Common-Wealth*, when the Theatres were composed of Wood, the People being eager to secure Places, used to quarrel among themselves, and sometimes beat and wound one another; to prevent which Inconvenience, it was ordered, that every one, before he entered into the Theatre, should pay two Oboli, or a Drachm, according to *Harpocration*, for his Admittance: And lest by this means the poorer Sort should be depriv'd of the Pleasure of seeing, every Man, as *Demosthenes* (in *Olynth*;) tells us, was allowed to demand that Sum of the publick *Exchequer*.
dea-

deavour to make appear from the publick Records. Read therefore, in whose (a) Archon-ship, in what Month, on what Day, and by what Assembly was *Demosthenes* elected into the Office of Treasurer of the Theatre, to the End, that you may plainly see, it was in the very Middle of his Magistracy, that *Ctesiphon* decreed him the Honour of a Crown. Read,

(a) *In whose Archonship.*] The chief Magistrates of *Athens* were Nine in number, and had all the common Name of *Archontes*, or Rulers. Concerning the first Original of their Names, nothing certain is recorded; but *Sigonius* conjectures, that the Name of *Βασιλεὺς* and *Ἀρχῶν*, were in imitation of the chief Magistrates of former Ages, wherein the City was first governed by *Kings*, and then by Archons; and that of *Πολέμαρχος*, in memory of the General of the Army, an Officer usually created by the first Kings to assist them in time of War; and the *Θεσμοθέται*, as their Name imports, seem to have been constituted in behalf of the People, to protect them in the Possession of their Laws and Liberties, from the Usurpation of the other Archons, whose Power before *Solon's* regulation of the *Common-Wealth*, seems to have been far greater, and more unbounded than afterwards. But however this may be, the *Ἀρχῶν*, so called by way of Eminence, was chief of the Nine, and is sometimes named *Επώνυμος*, because the Year took its *Denomination* from him. His Jurisdiction reached both civil and religious Affairs. The second, called *Βασιλεὺς*, had a Court of Judicature in the *Royal Portico*, where he decided all Disputes which happened among the Priests, and several other kinds of Causes. The third was called *Πελέμαρχος*, whose Business it was, beside other things, to take care of all Matters relating to War. And the six remaining were called by one common Name, *Θεσμοθέται*, who among other things, took care, that no Laws should be established, but such as conduced to the Safety and Prosperity of the *Common-Wealth*, and prosecuted those that endeavoured to seduce the unwary Multitude, and perswade them to give their Consent to what was contrary to its Interests. At first the Archons were *Perpetual* or for *Life*, then *Decennial*, and at last *Annual*.

The

The Computation of the Times.

Now therefore, though I should insist on no further Proof, but rest the whole Matter here, yet would *Ctesiphon* stand convicted with the greatest Justice, in regard the publick Archives, without my Accusation, evidently condemn him.

II. 'Tis true, O *Athenians*, that, in former Times, there was a Custom in this *Common-Wealth*, of chusing a (a) Comptroller, who, during the Government of every Tribe, stated the Accounts of the publick Revenues, and laid them before the Assembly of the People. But the Confidence which you reposed (b) in *Eubulus*, introduced a very different Custom. For, from his Time, 'till *Hegemon's* Law took place, the Treasurers of the Theatre acted not only as Comptrollers, and (c) general Receivers of the publick Revenues, but as Surveyors of the Naval Stores, as Masters of the Armory, and Overseers of the High-ways.

In

(a) *Comptroller* *Αντιγραφὸς*
This Officer was a Check upon the ten *Αποδεκταί*, or Receivers General; for they were oblig'd to lodge Counterparts of all their Receipts and Disbursements with him, in order to prevent all Deceit and Mistakes.

(b) *In Eubulus.*] There was a Law at *Athens*, whereby the Money appointed for Theatrical Uses was commanded, when the necessary Expences of War could not otherwise be provided for, to be applied to that Purpose. This, *Eubulus* to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, who were at this

time more concerned to maintain the publick Shews and Festivals, than the most necessary War, caused to be abrogated, and at the same Time to be declared a capital Crime for any Man to propound, that the *Θεωρικὰ χρήματα* should be apply'd to the Service of the War.
Ulp. in Olynth. 1.

(c) *General Receivers,*] *Αποδεκταί*, were Ten General Receivers, to whom all the Publick Revenues, Contribution-Money, and Debts due to the Publick, were paid: Which done, they registred all they had received, and crossed out of the Publick Debt-Book such as had discharged

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In short, they had in a manner ingrossed the Administration of all the Affairs of the *Common-Wealth* into their own Hands. By what I am saying, I would not be understood to accuse or reflect any Dishonour upon the Persons entrusted with these Offices. No: My Design is to shew, that the Author of that Law renders a Man incapable of being honoured with a Crown, while he enjoys any, even the meanest Office or Magistracy, until he has made up, and passed his Accounts. Yet *Ctesiphon* scruples not to prefer a Decree, ordaining *Demosthenes* to be presented with a Crown; a Person, who at once enjoyed and exercised all the Magistracies of *Athens*.

12. Now to shew, that he acted as Overseer of the Walls, when *Ctesiphon* preferred this Decree, and that he had the Management of the publick Money, levied Fines, (as is usual with other Magistrates,) and presided in the publick Courts of Justice, I will produce you both *Demosthenes* and *Ctesiphon* themselves, for Vouchers. For, In an Assembly held in the *Archonship* of *Chæronidas*, upon the Twenty-ninth Day of the Month (a) *Thargelion*, *Demosthenes* preferred

ed their Debts, in the Presence of the whole Senate. If any Controversy happened about the Money or Taxes, they had Power to decide it, except it was a difficult and knotty Point, or of high Concern; for, such they referred to the hearing of some of the Courts of Judicature. *Port. Ant.*

(a) On the Twenty-ninth Day of the Month *Thargelion*, &c.] The *Athenians*, after their Calendar was reformed by *Meton*, began their Year upon the First New Moon after the Summer

Solstice. This Year was divided into Twelve Months, which contained Thirty, and Twenty-nine Days, alternately; yet so as that the Months of Thirty Days always preceded those of Twenty-nine. Every Month was divided into *τρία δεκάμερα*, three Decads of Days: The First was, *μηνὸς ἀρχομένου*, or *ἰσαμένου*: The Second *μηνὸς μεσοῦντος*: The Third, *μηνὸς φθίνοντος*, *πανομένου*, or *ἀγγύοντος*. The first Day of the first Decad, was termed *νεομηνία*, as falling upon the New Moon. The Second *δευτέρα ἰσαμένου*. The Third

ferred a Decree, ordaining, That the Tribes should assemble themselves upon the second and third Days of the Month *Scirrophorion*, and that each Tribe should elect out of their own Body both Overseers of the Walls and publick Buildings, and (a) Treasurers of the publick Money; a Decree this, very just indeed and useful; for thereby he points out to the Republick the Persons whom they may call to an Account for the Management and Application of the publick Treasure. Read the Decrees.

The

Third *τρίτη ἡμέρα*, and so forward to the *δέκατη ἡμέρα*. The first Day of the second Decad, which was the eleventh Day of the Month, was called *πρώτη μετέωτος*, or *πρώτη ἐπὶ δέκα*: The second *δευτέρα*, &c. and so forward to the *εἰκάς*, or Twentieth, which was the last of the second Decad. The first Day of the third Decad was termed, *πρώτη ἐκ' εἰκάδι*: The Second *δευτέρα*, &c. and so forward. Sometimes they inverted the Numbers in this Manner, as in the Passage before us, The First of the last Decad, was *φθίνωντος δέκατη*, The Second *φθίνοντος ἐνάτη*, and so forward to the last Day of the Month, which was termed *Διμητηρίς*, so called according to *Plutarch*, (in *Demet.*) from *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Before the Time of *Demetrius*, it was called by *Solon's* Order, *ἡ ἡμέρα, ἡ νέα*, The Old and New, because the New Moon fell out on some Part of that Day; whereby it came to pass, as *Plutarch* (in *Solo.*), the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (*ad Nubes*), and *Suidas* tell us, that the former Part belonged to the Old Moon, and the latter to the New. To make the Athenian Months an-

swer exactly to ours is very difficult. However, I shall here shew how *Petavius* (*De Doct. Temp. L. 1. c. 9.*) has done it, though very differently from *Petitius*, *Ulpian*, and others.

The Attick Months.

<i>Pyaneption</i>	January
<i>Posideon</i>	February
<i>Gamelion</i>	March
<i>Anthesterion</i>	April
<i>Elaphebolion</i>	May
<i>Munychion</i>	June
<i>Thargelion</i>	July
<i>Scirrophorion</i>	August
<i>Hecatombaeon</i>	September
<i>Metageitnion</i>	October
<i>Boedromion</i>	November
<i>Mamactherion</i>	December

(a) Treasurers of the Publick Money] *Ταμίαι*. These were Officers originally, who received that Part of the Fines, which was due to *Minerva* and the rest of the Gods, which was done in the presence of the whole Senate. They were Ten in number, were chosen by Lot out of the Nobility, and had Power of remitting any Man's Fine, if it was made appear to them, that the Magistrates had

The DECREES.

13. Well; But to this he will immediately reply, that neither by the Ballot, nor by the publick Suffrages of the People, was he elected Overseer of the Walls. And on this Head both *Ctesiphon* and *Demosthenes* will not fail to be very copious and diffusive. I shall take a very different Method, and very briefly, but clearly lay open the Fallacy of their Reasonings. But first, I must beg your Indulgence, till I premise a few Things necessary to be cleared up before I come to the main Point. Amongst us, O *Athenians*, there are three Species of Magistrates. The first, as is known to every Body, consists of those that are chosen either by the (a) Ballot, (b) or the publick Suffrages of the People. The second Class comprehends such as are employ-

unjustly imposed it. *Pollux* tells us, they were the same with those Priests, whom they called *Κωλακῆται*; and these, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* reports, used to receive not only the Money due to the Gods, as Fines, but other Incomes designed for Civil Uses, and particularly the *Τριέβολα*, distributed amongst the Judges, and therefore called, *Δικασταὶ μεσσοί*. — *Pott. Ant.*

(a) By the Ballot. *κληροτομί*, These were forty four Men in each Tribe, above the Age of Sixty, as *Pollux*; or Fifty, as *Suidas* reports, who were chosen by Lots, to determine controversies in their own Tribe about Money, when the Sum exceeded ten Drachms. Their Sentence was not final, so that if either of the contesting Parties

thought himself injured by it, he might appeal to the superior Courts of Justice. At their first Institution, as *Pollux* and *Ulpian* tell us, all Causes whatsoever that exceeded ten Drachms, were heard by them, before they could be received into the other Courts. Their Office continued a whole Year, at the End of which, they gave up their Accounts, and if it was proved, that they refused to give Judgment, or as *Ulpian* and *Petitus* report, that they had been corrupted, they were punished with Infamy.

(b) Or the publick Suffrages of the People.] *χειροτονετοί*. When the Choice of a Magistrate was not made by Lots, the People expressed their Approbation by stretching out their Hands, as if it were

employed in any publick Business relating to the State above the Space of thirty Days; and such as are appointed Overseers of the publick Works. The third is defined by the Law in these express Words, ‘ And let all others, (a) who are created by Election, be invested with judicial Authority, and exercise their Magistracy, immediately after Approbation.’ So then, after setting aside such as are chosen by Suffrages, and by Lot, it remains, that we acknowledge those for real Magistrates, who are chosen either by an entire Tribe, by a third Part of a Tribe, or by a (b) Borough of *Attica*, to take charge of the publick Money. And such Magistrates are always elected, whenever, as in the Case now before us, any of the Tribes are appointed to do any publick Work, such as either the making of Intrenchments, or the building of Ships. That I advance nothing but what is true, will plainly appear from the Laws themselves.

were to lay hold on Merit; on which occasion the Assembly was held in the *Pnyx*, from which manner of Election they were so called. But this Custom in after Ages was strangely perverted, inso-much that Candidates for Preferment often stretched out their Hands first. The Election by *χειροτονία* continued some Time in the primitive Church.

(a) *Who are created by Election, ἀιρετοί.*] When any particular Tribe was appointed to take Care of a publick Work, they chose proper Substitutes, or Overseers to do the Business for them; and these were the *ἀιρετοί*. The Magistracy in this Case, seems to have been vested in the aggregate Body, the Execution in the *ἀιρετοί*.

(b) *By a Borough, &c.]* *Δῆμοι* were little Boroughs in *Attica*, several of which belonged to every Tribe; and though they were reckoned together with regard to the Business of the whole *Common-Wealth*, yet they had separate Habitations, distinct Rites and Ceremonies in the performance of their Worship, nay, and different Gods too. The greatest Ute of these *Δῆμοι*, was, in their Forms of Law and Contracts, whereby sufficient Provision was made against all Fraud, Deceit, and Mistakes. Hence we read of such punctual Clauses in their Writs, as these, *Demosthenes* the Son of *Demosthenes*, of the *Paanian* Tribe. &c. *Potter's Ant.*

The L A W S.

Now, you will please to call to Mind what I before mentioned, namely, that the Author of that Law requires, that such Magistrates as are chosen by their Tribes, shall immediately enter upon their respective Offices, after they shall be examined and approved of in the publick Court. But the *Pandionian* Tribe has created *Demosthenes* a Magistrate, an Overseer of the Walls, and he has received little less than ten Talents (a) out of the Money appointed to be expended in civil Uses, to bear the Expences of that Office. There is likewise another Law in force, which expressly forbids a Magistrate to be presented with a Crown, before he shall have passed his Accounts: But *Ctesiphon* has preferred a Decree, enjoining *Demosthenes* to be honoured with a Crown, even without inserting therein this saving Clause, "After he shall have passed his Accounts." The force of which Arguments, will, I hope, be sufficiently considered by you, who are Judges sworn to pronounce Sentence according to the Laws.

14. Thus have I made good the Charge brought against him for infringing the Laws, by producing not only the Laws and Decrees, but my very Adversaries themselves to be Witnesses and Vouchers of it: And how is it possible for any one to give more convincing Proofs of the Crime of preferring Decrees contrary to Law? I proceed therefore, in the next Place, to shew as clearly, that *Ctesiphon* has also prescribed in his

(a) Out of the Money appointed to be expended in civil Uses.] which it was employed; the first of which, as *Sigonius* informs us, the *Athenians* called *Χρήματα* ἡ δὲ διοικήσεως, being such as were expended in civil Uses. *Port. Ant.*

Decree the *Manner* of proclaiming this Crown contrary to the Laws of this Republick. For, the Law expressly ordains, that whensoever any Person shall be honoured with a Crown by the Senate, the Proclamation of it shall be made in the Senate-House; but if any Person shall have that Honour conferred upon him by the People, that then, the Proclamation thereof shall be made in their own Assembly, and in no other Place whatsoever. Read the Law.

The L A W.

This, O *Athenians*, is the Law, and a very just and excellent one it is. For, it shews, in my Opinion, that the Design of the Lawgiver was to provide, that an Orator should content himself with the Honours conferred upon him by the People of his own Country, without endeavouring to procure the Applause, or by base Practices to obtain the Proclamations of Foreigners. This was certainly the Intent of the Legislator: But how does *Ctesiphon* explain it? Read the Decree.

The D E C R E E.

You hear, O *Athenians*, how the Author of the Law expressly orders, That every Person, who is presented with a Crown by the People, shall be proclaimed in their Presence in the general Assembly in the *Pnyx*, and in no other Place whatsoever. But *Ctesiphon*, not content with transgressing the Laws in one Instance, but also changing the Place appointed for the Proclamation, orders it to be made in the Theatre; not when the *Athenians* are holding their Assembly, but when the Tragedians are acting their new Plays; not before the People of *Athens* only, but in the Presence of all the States of *Greece*; that they may be Witnesses of our Weakness, and of our

Prodigality, in conferring the highest Honours upon so undeserving a Person.

15. Since then, *Ctesiphon* has preferred this Decree so manifestly against our established Laws, the only Course he can take, will be, in Conjunction with *Demosthenes*, to elude them by Artifices and Subterfuges. But, to the End, that you may not be impos'd on by them, I will not only warn you of them beforehand, but also lay open the Weakness and Fallacy of them. They cannot deny, that the Laws expressly forbid any Person presented with a Crown by the People, to be proclaimed in any other Place, beside their own Assembly: But in defence of their Conduct they will produce a (a) certain *Dionysiack* Law, and make Use only of a Part of it, in order to divert you from the main Question, and mislead your Judgments. In a Word, they will produce a Law wholly foreign to the present Indictment, and will tell you, that there are two Laws in Force concerning

(a) *Acertain Dionysiack Law*] *Bacchus* is said to be the Inventor of all Theatrical Entertainments: To him therefore all Theatres were dedicated. Hence Plays are called *Διονυσιακά*, and so, *Νέμος Διονυσιακός*, a Law relating to Theatres. It is observable, that the first Theatres were little better than Booths, built up with Boards, and open at the Top. Upon this Occasion, *Suidas* tells a memorable Story, in the Word *Pratinas*. Into one of these *extempore* Theatres, a vast Concourse of the Nobility, Gentry, and common People, went to a Performance of the famed Tragedian, *Pratinas*. On a sudden, the Theatre fell under the unequal Weight, and almost

buried them all in its Ruins. To prevent such fatal Accidents for the future, the *Athenians* built one of Marble, and soon after all *Greece* followed their Example. The Resemblance between *Moses* and *Bacchus* has been often observed. As *Moses* appointed all the Festivals to be observed by the *Jews*; so *Bacchus* is said to be the Inventor of all joyous Entertainments, and the great Instructor of the People. For this Reason he is called *διδάκταλος*; He is also called *Ὀρεῖτες*, or the Mountain Deity. Thus *Horace* says,

Bacchum in remotis carmina Rubi-
pibus.
Vidi docentem.

cerning Proclamations in this Commonwealth; one, which I just now mentioned, expressly forbidding the Proclamation of a Crown granted by the People, to be made elsewhere than in their Assembly; and the other, on the contrary, allowing such Proclamations to be made in the Theatre, while the Tragedies are representing, provided the People expressly so order it. And from the seeming Conformity of *Ctesiphon's* Decree to the latter of these Laws, they will not fail to argue the Legality of it.

16. But to this false and evasive Argument, I will only oppose your own Laws, which indeed is my principal Care through the whole Course of this Accusation, in regard they afford me a sure and constant Assistance in every Article of it. For, were it true, that such an Abuse had crept into your Constitution, as to have obsolete Laws blended together with such as are in full Force, and to admit two Laws concerning the same Matter expressly contradicting each other; What would any one think of a State, where the Laws at the same time enjoined and prohibited the same Actions? But, this is very far from being the Case; nor will you ever, I am confident, suffer such a monstrous Confusion and Disagreement in the Laws of this Commonwealth. To provide against this Mischief was the early Care of that wise Legislator, who founded the popular Form of Government in *Athens*. For, he has expressly ordained, that the *Thesmothetæ* shall every Year, make a publick Revision of the Laws, and strictly examine and consider, whether there are any contradictory Laws remaining in the *Archives*; whether any are still retained, that have been formerly abrogated; and lastly, whether there be more Laws than one in Force, relating to the same Matter. If any such are found, he enacts, that they shall be written on Tablets, and fixed up, in order to be exposed to publick View, before the
Statues

Statues of the (a) Ten Heroes ; after which, the *Prytanes* are to call an Assembly, and the several Laws being distinguished by the Names of their respective Authors underwritten, the chief President is to put it to the Suffrages of the People, which of the Laws any ways disagreeing, shall be abrogated, and which retained ; to the End, that, concerning the same Matters, there may not be many and various, but one clear and determinate Law. Read the Laws.

The L A W S.

Should therefore, O *Athenians*, what they affirm be true, that there ever were two Laws in Force concerning Proclamations, it must, in my Apprehension, have necessarily happened, that as soon as the *Thesmothetæ* had discovered the Contrariety, and the *Prytans* distinguished the Laws, by ascribing them to their respective Authors, one of them must have been abrogated ; either That, which gave the Power of making such Proclamations, or That, which forbade them. But, since it is evident, that nothing of this Kind was ever done ; it follows clearly, that these two Impostors do not only advance the most gross Falsehoods, but even absolute Impossibilities.

17. I will now, O *Athenians*, endeavour to discover to you the Source, from whence they derive this artful Piece of Imposture, after I have first laid before you the Reasons, why those Laws concerning Proclamations in the Theatre, were enacted. *A Custom had grown up*, that, during the Representation of the Tragedies in the City, several Persons found Means to be proclaimed in the Theatre, without the

(a) *The Ten Heroes*] These [their Names Thus the first were called *ἐπάνυμοι*, because, [Tribe was called *Κεχροῖς*, from from them, the Ten Tribes had *Cecrops*, &c.

the Concurrence of the People, upon various Pretences. Some gave out, that their own Tribe had honoured them with a Crown; and others, that their Boroughs had bestowed them this Mark of Distinction. Others again, after commanding Silence by a Herald, publicly gave (a) Liberty to their Slaves, and brought in a Number of *Greeks* to be Witnesses of the Infranchisement. But, that which was still more intolerable, was, that some Persons, who had rendered themselves very agreeable to foreign States, by the Opportunities which their being appointed (b) Dispensers of the publick Hospitality gave them of insinuating themselves into their Favour, so contrived Matters, that your own Heralds solemnly proclaimed in your Presence, that such and such, were, on account of their Virtue and Bravery, honoured with

(a) Gave Liberty to their Slaves, &c.] The Manner of enfranchising Slaves among the *Greeks*, as *Aristotle* tells us, was this. A Cryer made Proclamation, in the Presence of the People, of the Name of the Slave that was to be enfranchised, together with that of his Patron, to the End, that an Act of so great Importance may be approved of, and confirmed by the Publick. The Privileges of these enfranchised Persons were various. One was, that they might wear their Hair cut in a different Manner from that of Slaves. Another, that they might change their Names from short, to long Ones, as from *Tromes* to *Atrometus*. And their Testimony seems likewise to have been received in all Cases, except the

διαμαρτυρία, as we are informed from *Hyperides*; whereas Slaves were not permitted to have any Concern in publick Business, and therefore could not be Evidences, nor plead in any Court of Justice, as *Petitus* (in *Leg. Att.*) informs us, except they were examined upon the Rack. The Strangers that were admitted to be Free-men of *Athens*, may be placed in the same Rank with the enfranchised Slaves, in regard they paid equal Taxes to the Publick.

(b) Dispensers of the publick Hospitality] *Προξενία*, in its first Import, is an Alliance of Hospitality. This was accounted so sacred, that when *Glaucus* and *Diomedes*, in the Heat of a furious Combat, discovered to each other the *Προξενία*, that had been

amongst

with Crowns, either perhaps by the People of (a) *Rhodes*, or (a) *Chios*, or some other of the neighbouring States. In which Proceeding, far from imitating such as are crowned, either by the Senate, or the People of *Athens*, they neither waited for your Consent, nor held themselves obliged to make you any Acknowledgments for the Favour of the Decree, but seized upon the Crown, without any Regard either for your Leave or Order. Hence it came to pass, that not only the Spectators, the (b) Masters of the Chorus, and the Actors, were all very often disturbed, during the Representation of their Plays; but also, that those, who were proclaimed in the Theatre, had far greater Honour conferred upon them, than those who were presented with Crowns by the People. For, there was a certain Place specified, where only the latter ought to be both crowned and proclaimed, namely, the Assembly of the People; whereas, the former were openly proclaimed in the Presence of all the *Greeks*. But, there remained indeed still this Difference between them, that the one acted with your Consent, and in pursuance of your Decree; while the others had nothing to support them, but their own Presumption. One of your Legislators

amongst their Ancestors, they immediately dropt their Weapons. There is beside this, another Application of the Word; for the *Προξενός* was a publick Officer at *Athens*, appointed to take Care of all foreign Ministers, to introduce them to the Assembly and Senate, and to do all the Honours of the State.

(a) *Rhodes*] An Island in the *Carpathian Sea*, 920 Furlongs in Compass, inhabited by the *Doreans*. *Strabo, Lib. 14.*

(b) *Chios*] An Island, and City of the *Ionians*. *Herod. L. 1.*

900 Furlongs in Circuit. *Strabo, L. 13.*

(c) *The Masters of the Chorus*] *χορηγοί* In this Place I take to be peculiar Officers, whose Business it was to provide the Chorus, and to furnish them with proper Dresses. *Plutarch (de Prud. Athen.)* and *Lysias (in Orat. de Muner.)* tell us, they were at the Expence of Players, Singers, Dancers, and Musicians, as often as there was Occasion for them at the Celebration of their publick Festivals and Solemnities.

gislators therefore, taking Notice of this Abuse, set himself to stop the Progress of it by a Law, which has nothing in common with the Law relating to such as are crowned by the People, neither contains any Thing tending to the Abrogation of it, being enacted to remedy the Disorders of the publick Theatre, and not of the Assemblies of the People. In it there is not the least Design of establishing any Thing like a Contradiction to any other Law in Force, for that, you see, cannot be done; but it is entirely confined to repress the Insolence of such as either procure themselves to be crowned by their own Tribe, or Borough, without your Consent; or of such as make a Pretence of infranchising their Slaves for the same Purpose; or of those that presume to display in your Presence, Crowns conferred upon them by Foreign States. *And the more effectually to prevent all these Irregularities,* It expressly forbids all Infranchisements of Slaves in the Theatre, and all Proclamations of Crowns conferred by a Tribe, or Borough, or any others whatsoever; and declares, that the Herald (a) shall be punished with *Infamy* that shall publish any such Proclamations.

18. Seeing then, the Author of the Law has so precisely determined the Senate-House for the Proclamation

(a) *Should be punished with Infamy*] *Ατιμία* : Of this there were three Degrees. 1. When the Criminal retained his Possessions, but was deprived of some Privilege, which was enjoyed by other Citizens. Thus under the Reigns of Tyrants, some were commanded to depart out of the City; others forbidden to make an Oration to the People; to sail to *Ionia*, or to some other particular Country. 2. When he was for the present deprived of the Privileges of free Citizens, and had his Goods confiscated. This happened to those who were indebted to the publick Exchequer, till their Debts were discharged. 3. When the Criminal, with all his Children and Posterity, were for ever deprived of all Rights of free Citizens, both Sacred and Civil. This was inflicted on such as had been convicted of Theft, Perjury, or other notorious Villanies. *Andocides de Mysteriis. Potter's Ant.*

clamation of Crowns conferred by the Senate; and the Assembly of the People, for the Proclamation of Crowns bestowed by the People; seeing he expressly forbids all Proclamations in the Theatre of Crowns granted by a Tribe, or a Borough, lest any one, after meanly begging the false Praises of such Crowns and Proclamations, should plume himself with Honours he never deserved in the Commonwealth; and seeing he also, in the same Law forbids Proclamations of Crowns to be made in any other Place than in the Senate, or the Assembly of the People, without any Exception of such as are conferred by particular Tribes, or Boroughs; what other Proclamations are there permitted to be made in the Theatre, beside those of the Crowns conferred by Foreigners? For the Proof of what I am saying, the Laws themselves furnish me with Variety of the strongest Arguments. For, the Law has provided, that the Crown of Gold, which is proclaimed in the publick Theatre in the City, shall not remain the Property of the Person on whom it was conferred, but shall be forced from him, and consecrated to *Minerva*. But is there any one amongst you hardy enough to fix the Infamy of an Action so sordid and illiberal on the People of *Athens*? There is not a private *Athenian*, far less the whole Commonwealth, that has a Soul so base, as to bestow any Person a Crown, and make Proclamation of it, and with the same Breath resume the Grant, and consecrate it to the immortal Gods. The only Reason, in my Opinion, for the Consecration of Crowns proclaimed in the Theatre, is, because they are the Donation of Foreigners; and to prevent any Person's being so highly favoured by Strangers, as may weaken the tender Regard he ought to have for his native Country. As for those Crowns, that are proclaimed in your Assemblies, no one is obliged to consecrate them to the Gods; but whoever obtains them, is permitted to possess

possess them himself, to the End, that both he, and his Posterity, having those glorious Monuments always before them, may retain a perpetual Sense of the Duty they owe to the Commonwealth. And for the same Reason it is, that the Author of the Law has likewise enacted, that no foreign Crown shall be proclaimed in the Theatre, without the Consent of the People, and that, whatever State has a Mind to confer that Honour on any of our Citizens, shall request your Permission for the doing of it, by a solemn Embassy. For, by this means, he judged, that the Citizen, to whom you permitted the Honour of being proclaimed, would reckon himself under higher Obligations to you for such Honour, than to the foreign State, from which he had actually received the Crown. For Proof of what I advance, hearken to your own Laws.

The L A W S.

When therefore, these Men shall endeavour to impose upon you, by alledging, that the Law permits such Proclamations to be made in the Theatre, provided, that it is with the Consent of the People; you must take Care to answer them, by acknowledging the Truth of the Assertion, as far as it relates to Crowns granted by foreign States; and at the same Time, remember to distinguish in the case of Crowns conferred by the People of *Athens*, for the Proclamation of which, the Place is fixed and determined by the Law, and an express Prohibition of its being made elsewhere than in the Assemblies of the People. For, should you descant the whole Day upon the Import of the Phrase, [*and not elsewhere*], you will never be able to demonstrate the Decree, which you have preferred, to be conformable to the Laws.

19. It remains now, that I proceed to the last Article of this Accusation, which I shall handle with the greatest Accuracy and Exactness; namely, the pretended Reasons, upon which *Ctesiphon* has founded the Title of *Demosthenes* to the Crown. The Words of his Decree concerning him are these: ‘ I order the
 ‘ Cryer to proclaim in the Theatre in the Presence of
 ‘ all the *Greeks*, that the People of *Athens* do present
 ‘ *Demosthenes* with a Crown, upon account of his
 ‘ Virtue and Bravery, and, (which surpasses all the rest),
 ‘ because he has always had their Interest and Welfare
 ‘ so much at Heart, as to make them the very End of
 ‘ all his Words and Actions.’ Upon this Head I shall endeavour to be as plain and full as possible, that you may not be under the least Difficulty how to form a Judgment of the Case. For, to make good this part of the Accusation, nothing further is required, but to shew, that the Praises here given to *Demosthenes* are false and unjust; and that, he is so far from deserving the Character of constantly adhering to your Interest, that he never yet has made the least Effort to serve you, either by Words, or Actions. If I shall be able to make this appear, then will *Ctesiphon* fall under the Weight of your Sentence, with the greatest Justice. For, the whole Tenor of your Laws makes it highly criminal to insert the smallest Falshood in any publick Decree. It lies therefore on *Ctesiphon* to shew the contrary in his Defence. You will impartially weigh the Arguments on both Sides, and accordingly pronounce your Judgment. This then being the true State of the Case,

20. A narrow search into the whole Life and Conversation of *Demosthenes*, would, in my Apprehension, require a much longer Oration than is necessary to be made, on the present Occasion. For, to what Purpose should I make mention of
 what

what befel him (d) upon his indicting *Demomeles* the *Pæanean* his own near Kins-man, in the Court of *Areopagus*, for the Wounds and Gashes which he gave his own Head? To what Purpose should I make mention of his Intrigues with (e) your General *Cephisodotus*, or of his Conduct when your Fleet set sail for the *Hellepont*; at which Time, *Demosthenes* being one of the Trierarchs, not only took the General on board his own Galley, but eat at the same Table, and offered Sacrifices; (f) and Libations with him, to the Gods, (thus truly, conferring Favours upon him, on account of the Friendship, which had subsisted betwixt him and his Father;) and yet, when he was afterwards brought into Judgment for high Crimes and Misdemeanours, this very Man scrupled not to become his Accuser? Or, to what Purpose, should I make mention of the Cuffs, which

(d) Upon his Indicting *Demomeles*, &c. This *Demomeles* was, it seems, one of *Demosthenes* his very near Relations, who happening to quarrel with him, *Demosthenes* in the Scuffle received some Cuts and Scratches, for which he Indicted him in the Court of *Areopagus*: Upon which Occasion, *Demosthenes* was suspected to have cut and gashed his own Head in several Places, in order to recover the greater Damages from him.

(e) Your General *Cephisodotus*, &c.] *Cephisodotus* was one of the *Athenian* Generals, who, as he was besieging *Halopeconesus*, was recalled, publicly accused of Corruption, and condemned to pay a Fine of five Talents. *Demosthenes* took part with the Accusers of this Gene-

ral, notwithstanding they had been Friends of a long Standing, and a great Intimacy had subsisted betwixt both their Families.

(f) And Libations.] *συσπένδω*. Drink-offerings among the *Greeks* was so inseparable a Ceremony from their Worship, that they scarce ever entered upon any serious Action without them. The Libation was the daily standing Sacrifice and Devotion in every Family: And among such as lived under the same Roof, and did partake in the same Sacrifice, Friendship was held so sacred, that it was thought an impious Crime for Persons under these Circumstances to violate it. Happy were it for us, if such generous Sentiments prevailed among Christians; yet we all partake of the

he received from *Midias* (a) in the open Theatre, when Master of the Revels; and how, he not only put up so publick an Affront, but basely sold the Reparation for thirty *Minas*, which the People had solemnly adjudged *Midias* to make him, in the Temple of *Bacchus*? But, these, and many more Instances of the same Nature, I shall pass over in Silence, not with a Design, either to impose upon your Judgments, or to ingratiate myself with you, by an affected Moderation, in the present Contest; but, lest you should make me this Answer, and say, ‘Your Assertions indeed are true, but contain only ancient Facts, and such as are already perfectly well known to the World. Now then, *Ctesiphon*, whether ought that Person, whose vile Actions are so notoriously known, and the whole Audience so well acquainted with the Enormity of them, that his Accuser ought to fear, lest he should be rather deemed a Teller of very old, and well known Truths, than a Forger of any Falshoods concerning him; whether, I say, ought a Man of such a Character to be honoured with a Golden Crown, or branded with Infamy? And, as to you, *Ctesiphon*, who have dared to insert Things equally false and illegal, in your Decree concerning him; whether ought you to despise and insult the publick Justice with Impunity, or suffer such Punishment, as an injured *Common-Wealth* shall inflict upon you?

the same common Sacrifice, and especially, if it be considered, ought to be closely united, having that the Christian Sacrifice has, ing the same common Symbol, by a certain Sect of professed or Tessera of Love. See how these Christians, been made the very *Christians love one another*, was Bond, by which they have bound the envious Remark of the Pagans themselves in the most solemn in the primitive Times. The manner, to commit the blackest present Age seems not disposed Crimes. to give any Provocation this way: We shall never raise the *χῆρος* was properly that Part of the Envy of our Anti-Christian the Stage, where the Chorus Neighbours, however we may danced and sung. work upon their Astonishment;

21. But, of his publick Crimes and Misdemeanours, I shall make no scruple of speaking with greater freedom and plainness. I am informed, *Demosthenes* designs, when Leave shall be granted him to speak concerning these Matters, to divide the Time of his publick Administration into four Periods. The First, I hear, he dates from the Time, when we were engaged in War with *Philip*, concerning (a) *Amphipolis*; which Period he concludes with the Peace and Alliance, of which, both he and *Philocrates* the *Agnusian*, were the Authors, as I shall hereafter make appear with the greatest Evidence. The second Period he will mention, is, the Space of Time, wherein we enjoyed Peace and Tranquility, namely, until that very Day, on which this same Orator by his Decree violated the Peace then subsisting, and plunged the Republick into a War. The Third is the Time, that the War continued, till the unfortunate Defeat at (b) *Chæronea*. And the Fourth is the Present. After he has thus divided the Time of his Administration, he intends, (as I am informed), to call me up, and ask me, with regard to which of these Periods do I accuse him; and at what Time precisely, do I assert him to have been guilty of Male-administration? And if I will not immediately answer him, but skulk, and hide myself for Shame, he says, he will come and find me out himself, drag me to the Tribunal, and compel me by violence to make him a peremptory Answer. To the End therefore, that he may not triumph and exult with so much Insolence; that you, my Judges, may not be imposed on, but previously informed of his Designs and Actions; that I may answer you, *Demosthenes*, in the presence of my Judges; in the presence of the rest of my Fellow-Citizens, who are standing without the

(a) *Amphipolis*.] A City situate on the River *Cephisus*. *Paus.* in *Phœc.* remarkable on account of the Defeat of the Greeks by *Philip* of *Macedon*.
 He-rod. L. 7.

(b) *Chæronea*.] A City of *Bœotia*, bordering on *Phocis*, and

Bar ; and in the Presence of all the *Greeks*, who have made it their business to come to hear the Judgment which you shall pronounce on this occasion ; (for I see a greater Confluence of them here, than has ever yet been known in the Memory of Man, to appear at any publick Trial) ; I answer, I say, that I openly impeach you with regard to every one of the four Periods of Time, into which you divide your Administration : And if it be the Pleasure of the immortal Gods ; if the Judges grant us a fair and impartial Hearing ; and, if I can recollect the various Crimes, of which I have known you to have been guilty, I make no doubt, but I shall demonstrate to the Judges, that the Preservation of this *Common-Wealth*, was, next to the singular Providence of the tutelar Gods of *Athens*, owing to the great Mildness and Moderation of some certain Persons employed in the publick Administration of our Affairs ; and on the other Hand, that the Measures of *Demosthenes* were the sole Cause of all our Calamities and Misfortunes. And thus will I pursue the same Method in my Discourse, which, I am informed he designs to make use of, in his. First, I will treat of the first Period. Next, I shall proceed to the Second ; then to the Third ; and lastly, I shall speak of the Affairs of the present Times.

22. I return then to speak of that Peace, of which you *Demosthenes*, in conjunction with *Philocrates*, were the Author. It was in your Power, O Men of *Athens*, not only to conclude that first Peace with the Consent of all the States of *Greece*, had a certain Set of Men permitted you to wait the return of those Embassadors, whom you had dispatched at that Conjunction to assist at the general Council, and to exasperate all the *Greeks* against *Philip* ; but you might likewise, in a very short Time, have arrived at the supreme Command, with the common Consent and Approbation of them all. But the corrupt and mercenary Practices of *Demosthenes* and *Philocrates*, who traiterously conspired

spired to destroy your Republick, deprived you of all these signal Advantages. Yet, should any one amongst you, upon unexpectedly hearing such an Assertion, be struck with Wonder and Surprize, and look upon it as a Thing incredible, I must entreat you to lend an Ear to what I have to offer further upon this Head, with the same Temper and Disposition that we usually sit down to cast up Accounts of a long Standing, and adjust the Ballance of several Sums of Money long since laid out and disbursed. For, with regard to such Accounts, it often happens, that we come from Home fraught with various Prejudices and Prepossessions: Yet when the whole is Article by Article examined, there is not one among you of so obstinate and perverse a Temper, as not to go away fully satisfied and convinced of the Truth of that Ballance, which upon fairly casting up the whole Account appeared to have been justly struck. In the same manner likewise, pray indulge me with your favourable Hearing on this occasion. If any of you who appear here to Day, have, for some Time past, entertained an Opinion, that *Demosthenes* never by his Counsels conspired with *Philocrates*, to promote the Interest of *Philip*: If any amongst you, I say, has entertained such an Opinion, let him neither acquit nor condemn me, before he has heard all that I have to offer upon this Head; for should he do otherwise, he would be guilty of the highest Injustice; but if you will give me leave to remind you, in the briefest Manner, of the various Transactions of each Period of Time, and to produce the Decree which *Demosthenes* preferred in conjunction with *Philocrates*: (a) If the very Ballance itself of Reason convicts *Demosthenes* of having in concert

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(a) If the very Ballance itself somewhat perplexed. λογισμὸς, of Reason, &c. The Allusion of is an account, either in Reason *Æschines*, in this Passage, to an or Numbers: And indeed, natural Account, is very ingenious, but Logick, and natural Arithme-

me;

cert with *Philocrates*, proposed several Decrees evidently productive of that first Peace and fatal Alliance; of having in the most extravagant and shameful manner flattered and paid Court to *Philip*; of having prevailed upon you (1) not to wait for the return of the Embassadors, whom you had sent to stir up all the *Greeks* against him; of his having been the Occasion of the Peoples entering precipitantly into an inglorious separate

metick, are much of a Birth: For every Syllogism is a short kind of a Sum in Reason: So that, when a Question is to be debated, the Persons engaged on each Side, may be looked upon, as Debtor, and Creditor. The one is to bring Vouchers for the Truth of what he Asserts; the other, to shew the Decitfulness of them, or to allow the Account: And by this means, the Conclusion which is the *Ballance of Reason*, is rightly adjusted to the Satisfaction of the Auditors.

(1) *Not to wait for the return of your Embassadors, &c.*] The Original here runs thus, τὸ παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις ἐν ἀναμενόντας, which seems to be corrupted. For if it be literally translated, *Not to wait for Embassadors from him, i. e. from Philip*, as it is by *Perionius*, it will appear to be neither agreeable to History, nor to what follows in the next Paragraph; where it is said, that *Demosthenes was the only Person in the whole Senate that propos'd a Decree for concluding a Peace with the Herald and Embassadors of Philip*; which plainly shews, that the Herald and Embassadors of *Philip* were then actually present, and consequently, that *Æschines*,

must contradict himself, if he says *Demosthenes* would not at the same Time wait for Embassadors from *Philip*. The whole Difficulty lies in these Words, παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις *Legatos ab illo*. *Aretinus* entirely suppresses these two Words, παρ' ἐκείνου, and renders it thus, *nec expectasse Legatos*, without specifying whose Embassadors they were: but this rather encreases than solves the Difficulty. *Melanaethon* translates it thus, *Legatos ab illo redeuntes*, and *Wolfus* suppresses two Words of the Text entirely, wherein, I apprehend, he takes too much Liberty with the Author. I imagine therefore, that, instead of reading παρ' ἐκείνου, we ought to read παρ' ἐκείνου and then the Sense, by the change of one Letter only, will be easy and natural, consistent with historical Truth, and the subsequent Paragraph. For it is certain, the *Athenians* had, at this Time, sent their Embassadors to stir up all the States of *Greece* against *Philip* of *Macedon*; nor is it less certain, that they concluded a Peace with him, without waiting for the return of these Embassadors: and therefore, in this Sense, I have ventured to translate this Passage.

Peace

Peace, without the Consent of the States-General of Greece: And of his having betrayed (a) *Cersobleptes* the King of (a) *Thrace*, the Friend and Ally of our *Common-Wealth*, into the Hands of *Philip*: If I say, I can make all these Things appear with the greatest Evidence, then will I make this moderate Request to you, which I hope you will grant me for the sake of the immortal Gods, namely, that the first of the four Periods of the Administration of *Demosthenes* was neither just, nor honourable, nor advantageous to the Publick. I begin my Discourse then, from a Period, whence you may all trace it down, with the greatest ease, to the present Times.

23. *Philocrates* preferred a Decree, whereby *Philip* should be permitted to send both Heralds, and Embassadors to *Athens*, not only to negotiate a Peace, but an Alliance also. This Decree was charged with being an Infringement of the established Laws. The Day of Trial comes. *Lycinus* who preferred the Indictment, carries on the Prosecution. *Philocrates* makes his Defence. *Demosthenes* pleads likewise in his behalf, and *Philocrates* is acquitted. Soon after comes on the Archon-ship of *Themistocles*, in which *Demosthenes*,

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(a) *Cersobleptes*, the King, &c.] the good Correspondence which *Cersobleptes* was the Son of *Cotys*, *Cotys* had with the *Athenians*, a Barbarian King, who very Politically amused the People of *Athens* with the Appearance of the strictest Friendship, while he had occasion for them. But after the good Correspondence ended in a Rupture; whereas, on the contrary, the Quarrel betwixt them and *Cersobleptes* terminated in a strict Alliance. For, after *Cersobleptes* and the *Athenians* had, for a considerable Time, contended strenuously, for *Cersobleptes*, they were forced by Necessity to join their Forces together, in order to oppose King *Philip*, and to enter into a strict Alliance and Friendship with each other for that Purpose.

(b) *Thrace*,] A Kingdom bordering on *Macedon*, upon the River *Strymon*. *Thucyd. L. 2.*

(a) on whom a Senator's Lot never fell, even in Reversion, was admitted into the Senate, though he obtained his Seat therein by Bribery and Intrigue, and for no other End, but to promote the base Designs of *Philocrates*, both by his Words and Actions, as the Event has shewn to a Demonstration. For, soon after, *Philocrates* obtains another Decree, wherein (b) he orders ten Embassadors to be chosen, who repairing immediately to *Philip*, should require him in your Name to dispatch Plenipotentiaries to *Athens*, to negotiate a Peace. Of this number, *Demosthenes* was one; who, upon his return Home, failed not to be very lavish of his Encomiums on the Peace, and to make the same Report with his Collegues concerning their Negotiation: But, being very careful and solicitous, that his own Decrees should be in every respect consistent with those preferred by *Philocrates*, he was the only Person in the whole Senate, that propos'd a Decree for concluding a Peace with the Herald and Embassadors of *Philip*. For, as the one obtained leave for *Philip* to send his Heralds and Embassadors to *Athens*, to negotiate the Peace; so, the other, failed not to conclude

(a) On whom a Senator's Lot never fell, even in Reversion [*ἐπεὶ λαχὼν, ἔτι ἐπιλαχὼν.*] At the same Time that the People chose any Person by Lot into the Senate, they did also, by a second Lot, chuse a Subsidiary Senator, to succeed him, in case he should either die, or be expelled from the Senate. This Passage is so to be understood. Thus *Tully* speaks, *subsortiri Judicem.*

(b) He orders ten Embassadors, &c. [*πρέσβεις.*] These were Embassadors chosen by the Senate, or most commonly, by the Suffrages of the People, to treat with foreign States. Sometimes

they were sent with full Power to act according as themselves should judge most conducive to the Safety and Honour of the *Common-Wealth*, and then they were called *πρέσβεις αὐτοκρατορῆς*, or Plenipotentiaries, and were obliged at their return Home, to render an Account of their Proceedings; but their Power was usually limited, and they liable to be called in Question, if they exceeded their Commission, by concluding any Business beside what they were sent about, or in any other manner than what was prescribed them. *Potter's Ant.*

and

and ratifie the Treaty with them. I must now beseech you to listen with the closest Attention to what I am going to offer next to your Consideration. *Philip* did not negotiate his Business clandestinely with the other Embassadors, against whom, *Demosthenes* soon after (a) preferred a false Accusation upon the change of publick Affairs; but placed his whole Confidence in *Philocrates* and *Demosthenes* alone. Nor is this at all surprizing: For, they were the Persons, that both by their Embassies and Decrees, conspired to promote his Interest and Advantage. And first, he so managed Matters with them, that they prevailed upon you not to wait, until the Embassadors, whom you had sent to stir up the *Greeks* against *Philip*, should return; but made you precipitantly enter into a separate Peace with him, exclusive of all the rest of *Greece*. In the next Place, Matters were so managed, that you were not only prevailed on to pass a Decree for making a Peace, but also an Alliance with *Philip*: And the Reason no doubt, was, that if any considerable numbers amongst you appeared to adhere to the common Interest, they

(a) Preferred a false Accusation.] *συκοφαντηθεῖς*. Whoever made it his Business to pick up Stories, and catch at every Occasion to accuse Persons of Credit and Reputation amongst the *Athenians*, was called *συκοφάντης*; which Word signifies a false Witness, but is more properly taken for what we call, common Barretors, being derived ἀπὸ τῆς *σὺκος φάναν*, from *Indicting* Persons, that exported Figs; for amongst the primitive *Athenians*, when the use of that Fruit was first found out, or in the Time of a Dearth, when all sorts of Provision were exceeding scarce, it was enacted, that no Figs

should be exported out of *Attica*; and this Law not being actually repealed, when a plentiful Harvest had render'd it useless, by taking away its Reason, gave occasion to ill-natur'd and malicious Men to accuse Persons that they caught transgressing the Letter of it; and from them, all busie Informers have ever since been branded, as *Suidas* and *Aristophanes* tell us, with the Name of *Sycophants*. Others will have the stealing of Figs to have been prohibited by a particular Law, and that thence Informations grew so numerous, that all vexatious Informers were afterwards termed *Sycophants*.

should

should be immediately intimidated and sunk into the deepest Despair, upon observing, that notwithstanding you most earnestly pressed them to carry on the War with Vigour, yet that you yourselves had so little concern about it at Home, that you not only passed a Decree for concluding a Peace, but even resolved to enter into an Alliance with him. The third Thing contrived betwixt them, was, that *Cersobleptes*, the King of *Thrace*, should not only be excluded the Treaty both of the Peace and Alliance, but also, that an Army should be immediately raised, and led against him.

24. It is true indeed, *Philip*, who purchased all these Advantages, cannot properly be said to have committed any Crime against us: For, before he had given his Oath, and ratified the Treaty with us, he might without the least Reproach have consulted his own Interest. But certainly, they who gave up, and betrayed these Securities and Bulwarks of the *Common-Wealth*, greatly deserved to have fallen Sacrifices to your Resentment. For, this *Demosthenes*, who now pretends to be the implacable Enemy of *Alexander*, but then truly, the mortal Foe of *Philip*; and who now takes the Liberty to reproach me with being an intimate Friend and Guest of *Alexander*; this very Man, I say, in order to deprive the *Common-Wealth* of the Advantages of several seasonable Opportunities, prefers a Decree, expressly ordaining, that the *Prytanes* should summon an Assembly upon the eighth Day of the Month *Elaphebolion*, in order to frame a preliminary Decree (a) at the very Instant that Sacrifices

(a) *At the very Instant that Sacrifices were offering up, &c.* The Athenians had two Temples of *Æsculapius*, the God of Physick; one in the City, and another in a large Borough of *Attica*, called *Acharne*. To this God, the Greeks sacrificed a Cock. Thus *Socrates*, when condemn'd to die, ordered a Cock to be offered to *Æsculapius*: Of which Custom, we have several Instances in History.

were offering up to the God *Æsculapius*; upon a Festival held so sacred and solemn, that no such prophanation of it was ever known before, either in ours, or our Forefathers Memory: And what colourable Reason did he assign for so unprecedented a Proceeding? Why, *the only Reason he offered was*, ‘ that the Assembly of the ‘ People might hold themselves in a readiness, immediately upon the Arrival of *Philip’s* Embassadors to deliberate concerning such Matters as they shou’d have ‘ in command to negotiate with us: by which means, he not only prejudiced the Assembly in favour of Envoys not then arrived, but utterly confounded all your Measures upon so critical a Conjunction, and hurried on Matters with such Precipitation, that you concluded a separate and inglorious Peace, without so much as waiting for the return of your Embassadors, who were actually negotiating a general Confederacy with the rest of the *Greeks*. In a short time afterwards, O *Athenians*, the *Macedonian* Embassadors arrived, while yours were still abroad, animating and stirring up the *Greeks* against *Philip*; and here again *Demosthenes* procured another Decree, wherein he ordained in express Terms, that you should not only deliberate concerning a Peace, but an Alliance also; and that too, as soon as ever the Feasts of *Bacchus* were celebrated in the City, that is, upon the eighteenth and nineteenth Days of the same Month *Elaphebolion*, without waiting any longer for the return of your Embassadors. That my Assertions are true, will appear from the Decrees themselves.

The D E C R E E S.

25. When therefore, O Men of *Athens*, the Festivals of *Bacchus* were celebrated, two Assemblies were immediately summoned; In the first of which, namely,

ly, that held on the eighteenth Day of the Month, the general Decree, which included all our Allies and Confederates, was read; the chief Articles of which, I shall beg leave to repeat briefly to you. In the first Place, the Authors of that Decree ordained, that you should confine your Deliberations to a Peace only, without making the least mention of an Alliance; not that they had forgot the Alliance, but because they were of Opinion, that the making of that Peace, was, at that Conjunction, rather necessary than honourable for the *Common Wealth*. In the next Place, they wisely proceeded, not only to take such Measures as were opposite to those sordid and corrupt ones constantly pursued by *Demosthenes*, but such also as tended to remedy the Mischiefs arising from them. To this End, they inserted this Clause in the Decree, ' that
' any of the States of *Greece*, that were so disposed,
' should be at Liberty, not only (a) to accede to the
' same Treaty with the People of *Athens*, provided
' they did so, in a solemn Manner, within the Space
' of three Months, but also to reap equal Advantages
' with them, from all the Articles contained in it. A
Precaution this, whereby they made sure before-hand of two Points of the last Importance.' For, in the first Place, they gained the space of three Months, a Time sufficient for all the States of *Greece* to send

(a) *To accede to the same Treaty, &c.* εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν συνθήκην] The perpetuating the Memory of Events upon Pillars, is as old as the Deluge, if any credit may be allowed to the Story of *Seth's* Pillars. This, we are sure, was used by *Jacob* the Patriarch. Trophies were Pillars adorned with Arms, in memory of victory, and Pillars only with Inscriptions were often erected in memory of a

an Instance. It was usual too to set up Pillars in the Forum, and to inscribe the Disgrace of any Person proclaimed *Infamous* upon them. Thus *Miltiades*, being devoted by the *Eumolpidae*, was proclaimed by Inscription on a Pillar: For *Corn. Nepos* tells us *quo testatior esset memoria, exemplum in Pila Lapideâ incisum, esse positum in Publico*. The same *Mr. Addison* observed in the *Colonna Infame* at *Milan*.

their

their Embassadors to *Athens*. And then, in the next, they secured the good Will and Affection of all the *Greeks*, together with that of their General Council to their Republick; to the End, that if any Infractions of the Treaty should happen, we should not be obliged singly, and unprovided, to bear the Burthen of the War, which now happens, by the bad Conduct of *Demosthenes*, to be the miserable Condition of your Commonwealth. The Truth of what I assert, will evidently appear from the Decree it self.

The Decree of the Confederates.

26. To this Decree, I own, I gave my full Consent, in conjunction with all the other Orators who spoke in that first Assembly; nor is it less certain, that the whole Body of the People went away from it, possess'd with this Opinion, That a Peace indeed ought to be concluded with *Philip*; but, as to an Alliance, it was not judged proper at that Juncture to enter into a Debate about it, in regard our Embassadors were actually exasperating and stirring up the *Greeks* against him: but however, that the Peace should not be concluded without the common Consent of all the States of *Greece*, was agreed on all Hands. Night intervened. And the next Day we met in Assembly, where *Demosthenes*, hastily securing the *Rostrum*, and hindering all others from speaking before him, publicly declared, That all the Debates and Resolutions of the preceding Day were useless and insignificant, unless *Philip's* Embassadors consented to them; and then professed further, that, for his Part, he did not comprehend, how a Peace could subsist without an Alliance: For, we ought never, says he, to *tear asunder* the Alliance from the Peace, (I remember the very Word, as well on account of the Disagreeableness

ness of the Speaker, as of the Expression), nor are we obliged to wait for ever the slow Resolutions of the States of *Greece*. No, Let them, on the contrary, either immediately carry on the War with Vigour, or we will conclude a separate Peace for ourselves. And when he was upon the Point of Concluding his Speech, he called up *Antipater* to the *Rostrum*, and asked him some Questions, having previously informed him what he would ask, and instructed him to make such Answers, as might prove detrimental to the Interests of the Commonwealth. In a Word, these pernicious Counsels at last prevailed, by the sole Power and Force of the Eloquence of *Demosthenes*, thus employed to obtain Decrees, which *Philocrates* was ready to ratify and confirm.

27. It now only remained, to deliver up *Cersobleptes*, and the Kingdom of *Thrace*, into the Hands of *Philip*; which they did accordingly, on the Twenty-fifth Day of the Month *Elaphebolion*, before *Demosthenes* set out upon his last Embassy for the solemn Ratification of the Peace with him. For, this your celebrated Orator, who always boasted himself to have been the mortal Enemy, both of *Philip* and *Alexander*, went twice with the Character of your Ambassador into (a) *Macedon*, (though he should never have been permitted to have gone at all); This very Man, I say, who now so earnestly presses you to treat the *Macedonians* with Contempt and Scorn, did, in the Assembly that was held on the said Twenty-fifth Day, though he became a Senator by Bribery and Intrigue, with the Help and Assistance of *Philocrates*, deliver up the unfortunate *Cersobleptes*. For, *Philocrates* artfully inserted this Clause, among others, in the Body of the Decree, (to which *Demosthenes* consented), that
the

(a) *Macedon*, a famous Kingdom, bordered with *Thrace*, *Epirus*, *Illyris*, and *Thessaly*.

the Embassadors of all our Allies and Confederates then present, should, immediately on the very same Day, administer the Oaths for the Ratification of the Peace to the Plenipotentiaries of *Philip*, at which Time *Cersobleptes* had no Embassador present. So that, the Author of the Decree, by ordering the Embassadors only that were present, to exchange the Ratifications in the most solemn Manner, plainly excluded *Cersobleptes*, who had no Representative there at that Juncture, out of the Treaty. To shew the Truth of these Assertions, recite the Name of the Person who preferred that Decree, and likewise what the Name of the President was, that passed it.

The DECREE. The Name of the President.

28. A noble Institution, O Men of *Athens*, a noble Institution indeed it is, to preserve the Records of all the publick Transactions of our Commonwealth with the greatest Care and Safety; Records, that always remain fixed and invariable, and never change with such as desert their Country; but furnish the People, whensoever they shall think proper, with an ample Opportunity of inspecting into the Characters of those, who in Times past, have been notorious Traytors, yet would afterwards, upon the Change of Affairs, fain pass for sincere Friends to our Constitution.

It now remains, that I briefly lay before you the servile Flattery and Adulation of *Demosthenes*; which may sufficiently appear from this single Consideration; That during the whole Year that he continued a Senator, he never honoured any Embassadors with the Front-Seats, except the Embassadors of *Philip*, whom alone he placed therein, carefully laying Cushions, and spreading Purple Carpets on purpose for them: And then

then, as soon as the Day dawned, he conducted them to the Theatre, where he behaved towards them, with such despicable Officiousness and fulsome Flattery, that he was openly hissed at by all the Spectators: And when afterwards, they set out for (a) *Thebes*, he not only hired six Mules for their Service, but accompanied them himself to the very Gates of the City; thus exposing our Commonwealth to the Laughter and Contempt of all around us. But not to digress too far from my Subject, take the Decree itself that was made concerning the Front-Seats.

The D E C R E E.

29. After this, O *Athenians*, this great and notorious Flatterer, having first received Information of the Death of *Philip*, from the Spies and Emissaries of *Charidemus*, pretended truly, that he received not the News from *Charidemus*, but, in a Dream from *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, as if those Deities, by whom he falsely swears by Day, would deign to converse with him by Night, and foretel him of Events as yet wrapped up in the Womb of Futurity. Besides, on the seventh Day after the Death of his Daughter (b) before he had mourned the usual Time for her Decease, and performed the accustomed Rites of Sepulture, he offered an Ox in Sacrifice to the Gods, with
a Crown

(a) *Thebes*.] The principal Death. If a Senator of *Arceopagus* went into a Tavern, he was infamous. Laws were made likewise for the Deportment of

(b) *Before he had mourned*, &c.] The *Greeks* were extremely solicitous to preserve the utmost Decency in all their publick Appearances. An *Archon* that was seen drunk was punished with all, it was certainly an Argument of

a Crown on his Head, and cloathed all in white, contrary to the Laws and Institutions of his Country; and this too, though the Wretch had lost his first, and the only Child that had ever called him by the tender Name of *Father*. I would not by this be understood, as if I design'd to insult the Misfortune of *Demosthenes*, but mention it only in order to display to you the inhuman Temper and Disposition of the Man. For, no Man that unnaturally hates his own Children; no barbarous Father of a Family, will ever make a good Minister of State. He who loves not his own nearest and most affectionate Relations with the greatest Tenderness and Warmth, will never have a greater Regard for you, than for utter Strangers. No; he who is dishonest in a Private, will never become virtuous in a publick Station: Nor could he, who was both lewd and lavish in his own private Family, ever prove a good and faithful Embassador in *Macedon*: For though he might change his Climate, yet it is impossible, that he should ever change his Nature.

30 How came it to pass then, that he assumed so many different Forms? (For I come now to treat of the second Period of his Administration); What Reason can be given, why *Philocrates*, for the very same Male-Administration, of which *Demosthenes* was guilty, was impeached for high Crimes and Misdemeanours, and banished his Country, while *Demosthenes* at the very same Time, openly stood up to impeach others, with

of *Demosthenes* his Love to his Country, that he would not suffer the tenderest Circumstance in Nature to interfere one Moment with the Interest of it. *Gassendus* in the Life of the Lord *Peiresk*, gives it as an Instance of the Greatness of his Mind, that when the *Pope's* Nuncio in his return to *Rome* paid this great Man a Visit, it happened

to be at a Time, when his Father lay dead in his House. This learned Lord abated nothing of his Respects to the Nuncio, and made not the least mention of his Loss: But immediately after his Departure, he paid all due Honours to his deceased Parent, with the most perfect Gratitude and Tenderness of an affectionate Son.

Impu-

Impunity? And by what means has it come to pass, that this abandoned Wretch has brought all these Calamities and Misfortunes upon us? To hear all this explained, highly deserves your closest Attention. As soon then as *Philip* had come within (a) the *Pylæ*, and contrary to all expectation, had ravaged and destroyed some of the (b) *Phocian* Cities, and rendered the *Thebans* more powerful and formidable, by erecting and fortifying Garrisons in their Country, than you apprehended to be consistent either with your own Interest or Safety at that Conjunction; then, I say it was, that you were terrified and affrighted to such a Degree, that you immediately hurried all your Effects out of the Fields, within the Walls of the City. Then it was, that you poured out your Complaints against the Embassadors who had negotiated the Peace, but more particularly, against *Philocrates* and *Demosthenes*, in regard they had not only been the Embassadors that were sent to negotiate, but also the very Authors and Decreeers of it. And besides, at this Time it was, that there happened to be no small Dissention between *Demosthenes* and *Philocrates*, occasioned, no doubt, in a great Measure, by what you yourselves suspected would necessarily create a breach betwixt them. This accidental Quarrel, together with his own innate vitious Disposition, set *Demosthenes* from henceforth upon laying his Schemes with more Fear and Caution than he had done before; and provoked him to envy *Philocrates* the Treasures which he had amassed by Corruption and Plundering the Publick. Hence it was, he imagined, that in

(a) *The Pylæ, or Thermopylæ.*] The strait Entrance into Greece out of *Thessaly*, of about half an Acre's breadth, between the Mountain *Oeta* and the *Melian* Bay, called *Thermopylæ*, from hot Waters that riseth there, (which the *Grecians* call *Thermæ*), and

from Gates made there by the *Phocians* in old Times, (which they call *Pylæ*). *Herod. L. 7.*

(b) *Phocian Cities.*] *Phocis*, a Region of Greece, between the *Locri Ozolæ*, and *Bootia*. *Strab. L. 9.*

case he should openly appear to accuse not only the other Embassadors that had been joined in Commission with himself, but *Philip* also; *Philocrates* would undoubtedly be undone, and the rest of the Embassadors brought into the greatest Danger; but that, on the contrary, he himself would thereby establish a virtuous Character, and gain the Esteem of all his Fellow-Citizens; and though a Betrayer of his Friends, and a base Traytor to his Country, yet would however pass for a faithful Friend to both. When therefore the secret Enemies of the *Common-Wealth* observed him to be a Man of this Spirit and Disposition, they very readily called him to the Rostrum, and asserted, that he was the only honest and uncorrupt Minister employed in the Service of the *Common-Wealth*. Upon which, he immediately stood up in the Assembly, was the Person that by his Harangues first gave the Alarm, and roused up the People to War and Confusion. He, O *Athenians*, is the Man, who first discovered the (a) *Serrian Wall*, and (b) *Doriscus*, and (c) *Ergiske*, and *Murgiske*, and *Ganes*, and *Ganides*, Places, whose very Names were never so much as heard of before. He it was, that brought Matters to such a Pass, that, if *Philip* would not send Embassadors to *Athens*, he said, he contemned and despised our Republick; but, when he sent them, then said he, they are Spies, and no Embassadors. He it was, who said, that if *Philip* should propose to submit the Differences subsisting betwixt him and us, to the Decision of some indifferent and disinterested State, an impartial Mediator could not possibly be found betwixt us. He it was, who, when *Philip* would have

(a) *Serrian Wall*.] *Serrium*, a Promontory, the utmost westward of the Shore of *Doriscus* in *Thrace*. *Herod. L. 7.*

(b) *Doriscus*.] A large Plain on the Banks of the *Hebrus* in

Thrace, where *Xerxes* passing on towards *Greece*, mustered his mighty Army. *Herod. L. 7.*

(c) *Ergiske*.] A Town in *Thrace*, founded by one *Ergiscus*.

E

render-

rendered up (a) *Haloneſus* to us, ordered us not to accept of it, unleſs he ſurrendered it, thus cavilling and wrangling even about Syllables. He, in ſhort, was the Man, who, by decreeing *Ariſtodemus* and his Confederates the Honour of being crowned, though they had contrary to the Articles of Peace invaded both (b) *Theſſaly* and (c) *Magneſia* in an hoſtile manner, violated the Peace, and plunged our *Common-Wealth* into all the Miſeries and Calamities of War.

31. Well: But will he arrogantly aſſert, that by procuring you the Alliances (d) of *Eubæa* and *Thebes*,

(a) *When Philip would have rendered up Haloneſus, &c.*] *Demofthenes* had been appointed by the People of *Athens* to treat with *Philip* concerning the Reſtitution of *Haloneſus*, an Iſland in the *Ægean Sea*; which he unjuſtly detained from them. Upon this occaſion *Demofthenes*, it ſeems, was ſo nice, that he would not ſuffer the *Athenians* to take back the Iſland, unleſs *Philip* conſented to make uſe of the Word, ἀποδιδύναι, to ſurrender, inſtead of the Word δίδύναι, to render, or give, in the Treaty: for which *Æſchines* here reproaches him, as a meer Caviller, or Wrangler about a Syllable. But certainly, this was not an empty Contention about a Word, or a Syllable. For, the *Athenians* had a great deal of Reaſon to be very nice about every Word that they uſed in their Treaty with ſo artful and politick a Prince as *Philip*; becauſe their Right to *Haloneſus* would be either eſtabliſhed, or deſtroyed, according as they uſed either the one or the other of the fore-mentioned Words. If

the Place had been rendered, or given to them, then they muſt have acknowledged themſelves to have received it from *Philip*, by way of Gift; but, if it had been ſurrendered, or reſtored, then *Philip* muſt have plainly appeared to have been no other than an Uſurper, and that they had had an undoubted Right to *Haloneſus*: And therefore it was, that *Demofthenes* was ſo nice and cautious, with regard to the Terms which he would have the *Athenians* uſe in this Treaty.

(b) *Theſſaly.*] A Region of *Greece*, bounded with the Mountains *Olympus*, *Oſſa*, and *Pelion*, towards the Sea, and with *Othrys* and *Pyndus* on the other Side. *Herod. L. 7.*

(c) *Magneſia.*] A City of *Theſſaly*, the Territory whereof extended from the Mountain *Oſſa* and the Lake *Bubæis*, to the Mountain *Pelion*. *Sirab. L. 9.*

(d) *Eubæa.*] An Iſland lying oppoſite to the Continent of *Attica*, *Bæotia*, and *Locris*, extending from *Sunium* as far as *Theſſaly*. *Herod. L. 7.*

he

he fortified your Country, with brazen, and Adaman-
 tine Walls. But, in this very matter likewise, O Men
 of *Athens*, he certainly did your Re-publick three of
 the greatest Injuries that can be imagined, of which
 you seem to be entirely ignorant. And though I am
 impatient to speak of that *Theban* Alliance, which is
 look'd upon to be so important, yet for the
 sake of Method, I will first treat of that which was
 made with the *Eubæans*. For, though, on the one
 Hand, O *Athenians*, you had received many Injuries
 of the highest Nature, not only from *Mnesarchus* the
 (a) *Chalcidean*, the Father of *Callias* and *Taurosthenes*,
 (whom *Demosthenes* upon the Account of some Re-
 Reward, had the Impudence to make free Citizens of
Athens); but also, on the other, from *Themison* the
 (b) *Eretrian*, who ravished (c) *Oropus* out of your
 Hands, even while the Peace subsisted; yet you quick-
 ly pardoned and forgot all these Injuries and Outrages
 committed against you. For when the *Thebans* invaded
 the *Eubæans*, with an intent to conquer and enslave
 their Towns, in five Days time, you generously assist-
 ed them both by Sea and Land, and that with such
 good Success, that within less than the Space of thirty
 Days, you dismissed the *Thebans*, after having first sworn
 them to Articles. And when you had thus become
 absolute Masters of the *Eubæans*, you honourably and
 honestly restored them their Cities, their Laws,
 and their Liberties again, thinking it unjust to retain
 a bitter Sense of their past Offences, after they had
 entrusted them all in your Hands. But, notwith-
 standing you heaped the like Acts of Kindness and
 Beneficence upon the *Chalcideans* likewise, yet they ne-
 ver had the Gratitude to make you the least suitable
 return for them.

(a) *Chalcidean*] *Chalcis* a Ci- ! and *Gereſtus*. *Strab.* L. 10.
 ty of *Eubæa*, on the *Euripus*. (c) *Oropus*.] A maritime Town
Herod. L. 7. in *Attica*, towards *Eubæa*, and
 (b) *The Eretrian*.] *Eretria*, a opposite to *Eretria*. *Strab.* L. 9.
 City of *Eubæa*, between *Chalcis*

32. 'Tis true indeed, that upon your Arrival with all possible speed at *Eubæa* in order to assist and succour *Plutarch*, the *Chalcideans* pretended at first to be your real Friends. But as soon as we came to (a) *Tamine*, and had passed a certain Mountain, called *Cotilleum*, *Callias* the *Chalcidean*, (whom *Demosthenes* was content to take Security for his Bribe), upon observing the Troops of our Republick to be [so hemmed and shut up in certain disadvantageous Streights, that there could be no possible Retreat, nor hopes of Succour left them either by Sea or Land, but by gaining an absolute Victory with Sword in Hand, immediately made new Levies all over *Eubæa*, dispatched a Courier to *Philip* for more Forces, and joined his Brother *Taurosthenes*, (who now familiarly gives every one his Hand, and salutes us with a Smile), with such Troops as he had hired from the *Phocians* on that Occasion; who altogether fell upon us with so great Fury, that had not some God signally interposed for the preservation of your Army; and had not both your Cavalry and Infantry, by their united Bravery, and fighting Hand to Hand, gained an entire Victory at the Horse-Course of *Tamine*, and forced your Enemies to depart, after having first sworn them to Articles, your Re-publick would have been in danger of falling into the greatest Infamy and Disgrace. For, to be conquered in Battle, is not the greatest Evil; but to be conquered, after entering the Lists with a base and unworthy Adversary, does, no doubt, inhanse the Misery, and double the Disgrace. And notwithstanding the *Chalcideans* had thus treacherously and ungratefully dealt by you, yet you speedily forgave them, and again received them into your Favour.

33. But though you were pleased to pardon the Perfidiousness of *Callias* the *Chalcidean*, yet he could

(a) *Tamine*.] A Town in *Eubæa*.

not

not forbear returning, in a very short space of Time, by the very impulse of his Nature, to his former Practices. For, under a Pretext of assembling a Convention of the States of *Eubæa* at *Chalcis*, he in fact fortified *Eubæa* against you, and made all Efforts to seize upon the supreme Authority of that State himself. For which End, being big with hopes, that *Philip* would not scruple to assist him in gaining the Sovereignty, he went into *Macedon*, paid constant attendance at that Monarch's Court, and was esteemed by all, to be one of his most intimate Friends. But happening to fall into Disgrace with *Philip*, on account of some Offence he had committed against him, he fled from *Macedon*, and committed himself to the Protection of the *Thebans*. But quitting these also, and being much more variable than the River (a) *Euripus*, near which he dwelt, he not only drew upon him the Displeasure of the *Thebans*, but of *Philip* likewise. Being therefore at a Loss what Course to steer upon seeing an Army led out against him, and actually ready to fall upon him; The only prospect of Deliverance he had left, was, to enter in the most solemn manner into a Confederacy with the People of *Athens*, and to engage your Protection and Assistance in case he should be attacked, which in all appearance could not possibly be avoided, unless you interposed to prevent it. With this View, he dispatched *Glaucetes*, *Empedon*, and *Diodorus* (b) that nimble Racer, in quality of Embassadors to *Athens*, laden indeed with many vain Hopes and Promises for the Populace, but with considerable Sums of Money for *Demosthenes* and his Faction,

(a) *Euripus*.] An Arm of the Sea separating the Island *Eubæa*, from the main Continent of Greece, remarkable for it's frequent ebbing and flowing. See *Strabo* and *Pliny* say it ebbs and flows seven times in twenty four

Hours: but modern Travellers say, only twice.

(b) *That nimble Racer*.] *Δρόμος*, or Running, was one of the five Exercises of the *πένταθλον*, or Quinquertium, and held in great Esteem among the ancient Greci-

tion, with whom he bargained for the three following Particulars at once. In the first place, he took care to secure the great and most important point of all, namely, your Alliance; for he was reduced to this extremity, that if the *Athenians* should, upon reflection on the Injuries which they had formerly received from him, refuse to accept of the Alliance, either he must have fled from *Chalcis* with precipitation, or have perished there destitute and forlorn; in regard both *Philip* and the *Thebans* were ready to fall upon him with prodigious Forces. The second thing, which he purchased from the Author of the Alliance was, that the People of *Chalcis* should not be obliged to send any Deputies to the next general Council to be held at *Athens*. And the third, was, that they should be exempted from paying any part of the Contribution-Money. Nor was *Callias* disappointed in any one of his Designs, but succeeded in them all.

ans, inasmuch, that such as prepared themselves for it, thought it worth their while to use means to burn or parch their Spleen, because it was believed to be an hindrance to them, and retard them in their Course. Indeed all those Exercises, that conduced to fit Men for War, were more especially valued: Now swiftness was looked upon as an excellent Qualification in a Warrior, both because it serves for a sudden Assault and Onset, and likewise for a nimble Retreat; and therefore it is not to be wondered, that the constant Character which *Homer* gives of *Achilles*, is, that he was *πρόδας ὤρεός*, or swift of Foot: And in the holy Scripture, *David* in his poetical Lamentation over those two great Captains, *Saul* and *Jonathan*, takes particular Notice of this warlike Quality of theirs; *they were*, says he, *swifter than Eagles, stronger than Lions*. To return; the Course was called *στάδιον*, being of the same extent with the Measure of that Name; which contains 125 Geometrical Paces, whence the Runners were termed *στάδιοδρομοί*. Sometimes the Length of it was enlarged, and then it was named *δολιχος*, and the Contenders, *δολιχοδρομοί*. *Suidas* assigns twenty four *Stadia* to the *δολιχος*, and others only Twelve. But the Measure of it seems not to have been fixed or determined, but variable at Pleasure; and sometimes they ran back again to the Place, whence they had first set out, and then the Course was called *δίαυλος*, and the Runners *δίαυλοδρομοί*, for *αὐλός* was the old Term for *Stadium*. *Potter's Ant.*

For

For *Demosthenes*, this pretended Enemy of Tyrants, who, as *Ctesiphon* affirms, never says any thing that does not tend to the good of his Country, basely sold and betrayed the critical Opportunities of the State, by inserting this Clause in the Decree concerning the Alliance, ‘ that we should be obliged to send ‘ Succours to the *Chalcideans* ; and then (a) by transposing one Word only, he orders, ‘ the *Chalcideans* ‘ to assist the *Athenians*, in case any Attack should ‘ be made upon them.’ And as to the Rights and Privileges of the general Convention of the Allies, together with the Contribution-Money, these he entirely gave up, by his Art of covering over the vilest Actions with the most plausible and specious Words, and by persuading us by the Force of his Eloquence, ‘ that our ‘ *Common-Wealth* ought first to assist any of the States ‘ of *Greece*, that at any time should happen to stand ‘ in need thereof, and should afterwards enter into ‘ Alliances with them, when they had proved themselves by their Actions to be your real Friends.’ Now, that you may be fully satisfied of the Truth of all that I have said, take the Impeachment of *Callias*, together with the Treaty concerning the Alliance, and read the Decree likewise.

The D E C R E E.

34. But this is not a Matter so great and insupportable. To sell the critical Opportunities of the State ; to give up the Rights and Privileges of the general Convention of the Allies ; and to embezzle the Revenues that should support the War, are Crimes, that perhaps, might be endured. But, what I am now going to

(a) By transposing one Word ; the *Chalcideans*, by obliging the only, &c.] The Sense of this Passage is this ; *Æschines* says, that *Demosthenes* tricked the *Athenians* into a Promise of assisting the *Chalcideans* to assist them ; because the Conditions of the Alliance were mutual.

lay

lay before you, will, upon due reflection, appear much more intolerable and grievous. For, so excessively insolent and avaritious was *Callias* the *Chalcidean* grown, and into so low a Degree of Baseness and Corruption, was *Demosthenes*, (on whom *Ctesiphon* heaps so many Praises), fallen, that they not only pilfered from you, and that to your certain Knowledge, nay, to your very Faces, the ten Talents Contribution-Money, which was the whole Tax laid upon the *Oretans* and *Eretrians*; but also removed the Deputies of those States, from assisting as usual, at your Councils, and sent them to *Chalcis*, in order to compose what they were pleased to call the *Eubæan* Convention. But after what manner, and by what Stratagems they accomplished their wicked Designs, very well deserves your serious Attention. *Callias* would no more negotiate with you by Couriers, but comes to you himself in Person, and walking into the Assembly, made a long and elaborate Harangue, which *Demosthenes* had previously prepared for him. He said, he was that Moment come from *Peloponnesus*; that he had there lately raised an hundred Talents Contribution-Money, in order to carry on the War against *Philip*; that he had exactly calculated what the Proportion of each State would amount to; that he had laid a Tax of sixty Talents upon the (a) *Achaïans* and (b) *Megaraeans*, and of forty upon all the Cities of *Eubæa*; that these Funds would be sufficient not only to Man out a powerful Fleet by Sea, but also to maintain a great Body of Infantry by Land; and that many other States of *Greece* would chearfully contribute their Parts towards the Expences of the War; so that neither Men, nor Money, could possibly be wanting: And all this, says he, is so notorious, that not one amongst you, can be

(a) *Achaïans.*] *Achaia*, *Achaia*, in which the *Phthiotæ* live. *Herod. L. 7.*
 Region of *Peloponnesus*, bordering on *Elis*, *Arcadia*, and *Sicyonia*. *Strab. L. 8.* There was also a Part of *Thessaly* called *A-*
 (b) *Megaraeans.*] *Megara*, A City bordering upon *Attica*, at *Eleusis*. *Paus. in Att.*

ignorant of it. But besides, he added, that he had negotiated several other Affairs in private for our Advantage, which a select number of our own Citizens could vouch and attest: And in the Conclusion of his Speech, he called upon *Demosthenes*, and that openly, and by Name, and appealed to him for the Truth of all his Assertions. Upon which, *Demosthenes* walked up into the Rostrum with a Face of great Importance; heaped innumerable Praises upon *Callias*; pretended to be privy to the secret Affairs which he had mentioned; and then said, he was ready to report to you the Success of his own Embassies, both into (a) *Peloponnesus*, and (b) *Acarmania*. In a Word, the Sum of his whole Discourse was, that for his Part, he was sure, he had excited all the *Peloponnesians* and *Acarnani-ans* to pay their respective Contributions towards carrying on the War against *Philip*: that the whole Contribution-Money would not only be sufficient to fit out completely an hundred swift-sailing Gallies, but also to raise and maintain an Army of ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse: That beside your own domestick Troops, you would be supplied with above two thousand heavy-armed Soldiers from *Peloponnesus*, and with as many from *Acarmania*; and that they had all actually agreed to confer the supreme Command upon you; and moreover, that all these Things should be executed speedily, even before the sixteenth Day of the Month *Anthesterion*, for that he had strictly commanded all the States to send their respective Deputies to *Athens* by the Full of the Moon. For, this, it seems, is peculiar to *Demosthenes* alone, and distinguishes him from all other Impostors, that whenever they advance any Thing that is false, they endeavour to conceal it under the Veil of dark and undetermined Expressions, for fear of being

(a) *Peloponnesus*.] That Part of Greece within the Isthmus of *Corinth*, now called *Morea*.

(b) *Acarmania*] A Region in Greece, divided from *Epirus* by the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Pol. L. 4.*

detected and convicted of it : Whereas *Demosthenes*, on the contrary, when he is disposed to impose upon any one, does, in the first place, back his false Assertions with an Oath, and with horrid Imprecations beseech the Gods utterly to destroy him in case he should prove to be perjured : And in the next, he boldly pretends not only to foretel Events, which, he is conscious to himself, will never happen ; but likewise undertakes to calculate and point out the exact Times, in which they will come to pass ; and then calls People familiarly by their Names to bear witness to his Assertions, whose very Persons he never saw ; and thus, by pretending to speak without Disguise, like a Man of Veracity, he silyly insinuates and winds himself into your Favour and good Opinion. Such a Person therefore, who, by such base Imposture, perverts and destroys the very Criterion, by which great and generous Souls are distinguished, certainly deserves the highest Degree of your Hatred and Displeasure. Having ended his Speech, he gave the Notary a Decree to read, longer indeed than the *Iliad* of *Homer*, but emptier than the Harangues which he himself generally utters, and stuffed with more Vanity and Ostentation, than the Life which he has always led ; Harangues, fraught with Hopes, never to be fulfilled, and with Promises of Armies, never to be raised or drawn together. When therefore he had by these Means entirely removed all Suspicion of his secret Villany, and raised great but false Expectations in your Minds ; then does he on a sudden change his Course, and insert a Clause in his Decree, not only enjoining, that Embassadors should immediately be chosen and dispatched to the *Eretrians*, and charged earnestly to entreat them, (for by all Means they must be entreated), that, instead of paying the five Talents contribution to you, they should pay 'em to *Gallias* ; but also ordaining, that other Embassadors should be elected and sent to *Oreum*, to press the

Ore-

Oretans to enter into an Offensive and Defensive Alliance with the People of *Athens*. Then, in the Conclusion, after having used various doubtful and deceitful Sentences through the whole Body of the Decree, he plainly discovers himself by inserting this plain and express Clause therein, that Instructions should be given to the Embassadors earnestly to press the *Oretans*, not to pay the five Talents, *which was their part of the Contribution-Money*, into any other Hands, than those of *Callias*. To prove the Truth of which Assertions, let the Decree it self be read, but strip it of that Pomp of Words, of those vain-glorious Promises of Fleets, and of those insolent Expressions contained in it, and insist only upon the notorious Villany, secretly perpetrated by this infamous and abandoned Wretch, whom *Ctesiphon* has had the Impudence to affirm in this Decree, to have always had the Interest of the People of *Athens* so much at Heart, as to make it the very End of all his Words and Actions.

The D E C R E E.

Thus have you heard him make mention only of the Galleys, of the Infantry, of the Full Moon, and of the Deputies; but the ten Talents Contribution-Money, which were levied on your Confederates, you have really lost.

35. It now remains, that I inform you how *Demosthenes* procured (a) three Talents by way of Bribe for the framing of this Decree. One of them *Callias* sent him from *Chalcis*; another, *Clytarchus* the Ty-

(a) *Three Talents.*] The less- | The greater.
 for *Attick* Talent was 187 l. 0 0 |

250 l. 0 0

rant transmitted to him from *Eretria*; and the third he received from *Oreum*; which last discovered all his Corruption and Villany. For, the Government of the *Oretans* being of the Republican Form, they debate every thing in the most publick manner, and perform every Action in pursuance of some publick Decree. These People finding, that their War with *Philip* had exhausted all their Treasures, and reduced them to the greatest Want and Extremity, dispatch *Gnosidemus* the Son of *Charigines*, a Man formerly very powerful in *Oreum*, to beseech *Demosthenes* in the most humble and submissive manner, to remit their Republick the Talent which they owed him, and to engage, that they would by way of Recompence erect a Statue of Brass in honour of him at *Oreum*. But his Answer to *Gnosidemus*, was, that of all Things, he had the least occasion for Brass, and therefore would take proper Measures to make *Callias* procure him the Talent which he had contracted to pay him. The *Oretans* therefore, being very much distressed, were forced, for want of ready Money, to mortgage the publick Revenues of their State to *Demosthenes*, as a Security for the Talent. And accordingly, they punctually paid him Interest afterwards for this scandalous Bribe, at the exorbitant Rate (a) of a Drachm a Month for every *Mina*, until they discharged the Principal. And all this was transacted in pursuance of a publick Decree of the People. To prove the Truth of what I advance, take and read the Decree of the *Oretans*.

(a) At the Rate of a Drachm, } about ten Pounds, eight Shillings,
&c. } This was at the Rate of } per Cent.

The DECREE.

This Decree, O *Athenians*, is, no doubt, an eternal Scandal and Reproach to our *Common-Wealth*; but, as it is no weak Argument to prove *Demosthenes* guilty of Corruption in his Administration of the publick Affairs; so, it carries in it a full and clear Conviction of *Ctesiphon*. For, it is absolutely impossible that any Person who is so strongly addicted to Bribery and Corruption, can ever prove a good and virtuous Man, either in a private or publick Capacity: an Assertion, which, yet *Ctesiphon* has had the Presumption to insert in his Decree concerning him.

36. I proceed now to treat of the third Period of Time, which is by far the most fatal and unfortunate of all; a Period, wherein *Demosthenes* not only ruined the Affairs of our Republick, but likewise the common Cause of all *Greece* besides, by impiously prophaning the Temple of (a) *Delphos*, and by preferring a Decree, enjoining us to enter into a most pernicious and unequal Alliance with the People of *Thebes*. I shall begin my Discourse with the Sacrilegious Crimes which he committed against the Gods. There is a certain Plain, O Men of *Athens*, called (b) *Cyrhæum*, which borders upon a Port, now known (c) by the Name of the *sacred* and *accursed* Port.

This

(a) *Delphos*.] A City of *Phocis*, at the Foot of *Parnassus*, and famous for the Temple and Oracle of *Apollo*. *Herod. L. 8.*

(b) *Cyrhæum*.] *Cyrhæa* was a Town in *Phocis*, at the Foot of *Parnassus*.

(c) By the Name of the *sacred* and *accursed* Port.] λιμὴν ὁ ἅγιος καὶ ἐπανάτος] To reconcile this seeming Contradiction in Terms, we are to know, that whatever was devoted to the Gods, did immediately become their

This Tract of Land was formerly inhabited by the *Cyrhæans* and (w) *Acragallidæ*, a most barbarous and wicked Race of People, who not only sacrilegiously plundered the Temple of *Delphos* of all its sacred Treasures, but also grievously offended and insulted the general Council of the *Amphictyones*. The *Amphictyones* therefore of those Times, but more particularly your *Athenian* Ancestors, (if Tradition may be rely'd on), highly resenting these Outrages, unanimously enquired of the Oracle, what kind of Punishment should be inflicted on these impious Wretches: To whom the *Pythian* Priestess made answer, that they should make continual War both by Night and by Day, upon the *Cyrhæans* and *Acragallidæ*, and not only ravage their Lands, and enslave their Persons, but should also never suffer either themselves or any others to cultivate that Tract of Ground, but condemn it to perpetual barrenness, and devote it for ever to the *Pythian Apollo*, and to *Diana*, to *Latona*, and to (b) *Minerva* the Provident. The *Amphictyones*, upon receiving

their Property, and by that means was intitled to the Appellation of *Sacred*: So that, when the wickedest Criminal was devoted by the Priest, he was at once *Sacred*, and *Accursed*. Thus by a strange *Catachræsis*, *sacer homo*, signifies a profligate Villain, *sacer et instabilis esto*. Hor. Things thus devoted were called *Ἀσέβηστα*, and thus St. Paul may perhaps be understood, when he wishes, that he may be *accursed from Christ*, &c. that is, that he might through Christ be made an Offering, *Ἀσέβηστα*, &c.

(a) *Acragallidæ*.] A People of *Phocis*, bordering on the *Cyrhæans*: *Wolffius* supposes, that

these were the *Gauls*, the Remainder of *Brennus's* Army, that had seized the Summits of the Country.

(b) *Minerva the Provident*.] *Ἀθηνᾶ πρόνοια*. *Pausanias* in *Bæotia* mentions a Marble Statue of *Mercury* by *Phidias*, and another of *Minerva* by *Scopas*. They stood over the Gate of a Temple in *Thebes*, or as others say, at *Delphos*, and were therefore called *πρόνοιαι*, *Protempleares*. And this I take to be the better Reading of the Word, upon the Authority of the learned *Meursius*, and *Hesychius*: Though others are of Opinion, that there was a *Minerva* called, *πρόνοια*, at *Athens*.

ceiving this Answer from the Oracle, passed a Decree, by the Advice and Persuasion of *Solon* the *Athenian*, (a wise Legislator, an excellent Poet, and a great Philosopher), ordaining, that an Army should, pursuant to the Command of the God, be immediately led against those wicked contemners and Profaners of sacred and religious Things. And accordingly, the *Amphictyones* raised a sufficient Body of Troops, defeated and enslaved those abandoned Wretches, stopped up their Ports, levelled their City with the Ground, and pursuant to the Order of the Oracle, devoted their Territories to the Gods. Moreover, they bound themselves by a most solemn Oath, that they themselves would neither cultivate that devoted Territory, nor permit it to be ever tilled by others, but that they would make the strongest Efforts that they were able, to help the God, and to maintain and defend the Rights and Privileges of the sacred Ground. Nor were they content with taking so solemn an Oath; but they also added to it, as a farther Sanction, the following dire Imprecation, and most terrible Curse: for thus the Words of the Imprecation run. ‘ If any People whatsoever, whether
 ‘ private Persons, or City, or Nation, presume to
 ‘ transgress the Obligations of this Imprecation, may
 ‘ they be accursed by *Apollo*, by *Diana*, by *Latona*,
 ‘ and by *Minerva* the Provident; may their Lands be
 ‘ barren, and yield no Fruits; may their Wives bear
 ‘ mishapen Monsters instead of Children resembling
 ‘ their Parents; and may their Cattle never increase,
 ‘ according to the regular Course of Nature; but may
 ‘ they be conquered in War, baffled in the Senate,
 ‘ and cast and condemned in all Courts of Justice;

ὅτι πρὸνδυσεν ὅπως τε οἱ ἡ λητα, understood nothing else by *Minerva* πρὸνδυσεν, but the *Wisdom* or
 because the foreknew the Time of *Latona*’s Delivery. However *Providence*, of the supreme BE-
 that was, it is certain, that the ING. I have followed the
 Antients, as *Phurnutus* tells us, common Reading.

may

‘ may themselves, their Families, and their whole
 ‘ Race perish from off the Face of the Earth; and in
 ‘ the Conclusion, may they never offer either an
 ‘ holy or acceptable Sacrifice to *Apollo*, or to *Diana*,
 ‘ to *Latona*, or to *Minerva* the Provident; but, on
 ‘ the contrary, let their Offerings and Sacrifices be
 ‘ always rejected, abhorred, and detested.’ To prove
 the Truth of what I am saying, read the Answer gi-
 ven by the Oracle of the God, hear the Imprecation
 it self, and call to Mind the Oaths which your Fore-
 fathers, in conjunction with the other *Amphictyones*,
 have solemnly sworn to maintain and observe.

The Answer of the Oracle.

‘Till blue-ey’d Amphytrite’s Waves shall flow
 Over the hallow’d Glebe, that’s stretch’d below :
 ‘Till swelling Surges there shall loudly roar,
 And burst asunder on that sacred Shore,
 This Tow’r you shan’t throw down.——

The Oath. The Imprecation.

37. But, though this *Oath*, and *Imprecation*, toge-
 ther with the Answer of the Oracle, are all, even at
 this Time, extant in the publick Archives; yet the (a)

(a) *The Locrians.*] *Locris* was
 a Nation of Greece, whereof one
 part, called, *Locri Ozolæ*, lived on
 the West Side of *Parnassus*, on
 the Confines of *Ætolia*; and the
 other Part, called, *Locri Opuntij*,
 were divided from the *Ozolæ*, by
 the Mountain *Parnassus*, and the
 Region of *Doris*. *Strab. L. 9.*

Locrians and (a) *Amphisseans*, or rather some of the chief Men in Power amongst them, a most impious Race of People, had the Presumption, not only to cultivate this Plain, to rebuild the sacred and accursed Port, to dwell therein, and exact Toll from the Ships that sailed along the Coasts; but also actually to bribe and corrupt some of the *Pylagoræ* as they were travelling to *Delphos*. Of this number *Demosthenes* happened to be one. For, being elected a *Pylagoras* by your Suffrages, he made no Scruple to take a Bribe of a thousand Drachms from the *Amphisseans*, on condition, not to make mention of any Thing in relation to their Affairs, before the general Council of the *Amphictyones*: And they besides, stipulated and promised to send him twenty *Minæ* every Year for the Future, out of the Fund arising from that accursed and devoted Port, provided he would take particular Care, upon all Occasions, of the *Amphissean* Interest at *Athens*. A piece of Corruption this, so very impious and flagrant, that to it we may justly ascribe, that from that time forward, neither private Person, nor Magistrate, nor free State, that had the least Dealing or Concern with him, could escape being plunged into the greatest Miseries and Misfortunes.

38. But observe, I beseech you, the Methods (b) which both the Genius of the Place, and Fortune took, to punish the flagrant Impiety of the *Amphisseans*. In the Archonship of *Theophrastus*, and when

(a) *Amphisseans*.] *Amphissa*, ty upon Fate, and every inferior a City of the *Locrians* called *O-* Deity had his peculiar Commis-
zola, bordering on *Crissa*. *Herod.* sion to execute it's Decrees.
L. 8. distant from *Delphos* 120 Could the Christian be persuad-
Furlongs. *Paus.* in *Phoci.* ed to allow that to Providence,

(b) Which the Genius of the which the Pagan did to Fortune,
Place and Fortune, &c. Fortune Men would live otherwise than
was the perpetual attendant Dei- they generally do.

Diognetus the (a) *Anaphlystian* bore the Office of *Hieromnemon* or sacred Register, you elected *Midias* the (b) *Anagyrhasian*, (whose Death for many Reasons I can never sufficiently deplore), *Thrasycles* the (c) *Lesbian*, and me, for your Deputies to the general Council of the *Amphictyones*. Upon our Arrival at *Delphos*, both *Diognetus Hieromnemon*, and *Midias*, happened to be suddenly seized with a violent Fever, which, however, did not hinder the rest of the *Amphictyones* from assembling together in Council. Here we received Information from some Persons well-affected to our *Common-Wealth*, that the *Amphissæans*, at that time the Creatures and Vassals of the *Thebans*, designed to prefer a Decree, enjoining a Fine of fifty Talents to be laid upon the People of *Athens* for depositing some golden Shields in the new Temple, before the usual Consecration of the Spoils, ' with this just Inscription, ' The People of *Athens* ' spoiled the *Medes* and *Thebans* of these, when they, ' in Conjunction, made War against the *Greeks*.' The *Hieromnemon* therefore having sent for me, entreated me to go into the Council, and plead the Cause of our *Common-Wealth* before the *Amphictyones*; a Thing, which I my self had before resolved on. But coming into the Assembly in a Transport of Zeal, and beginning to speak with great earnestness, in the Absence of the other *Pylagoræ* my Collegues; one of the *Amphissæans*, a most abusive, and, (as he appeared to me), a most uneducated Person, and perhaps instigated to commit this Villany by some *Dæmon*, cryed out, and said, ' In the first Place, O *Græcians*, had you the ' least Share of Prudence, you would never suffer

(c) The *Anaphlystian*.] *Anaphlystus*, an *Attick* Borough in the Division of *Antiochis*.

(d) *Anagyrhasian*.] *Anagyrhus*, a Borough of *Attica*, belonging to the *Erethean* Tribe. *Step. Byz.*

(e) The *Lesbian*.] *Lesbos*, an Island over against *Æolis* in *Asia*, in compass about 1100 Furlongs. *Strab. L. 13.*

even,

‘ even the bare Name of the People of *Athens* to be
 ‘ mentioned on this Occasion, but would, on the
 ‘ contrary, drive them out of this Temple, as impious
 ‘ and accursed Persons.’ Then, he mentioned the Alliance which we had made with the *Phocians*, of which *Crobylus* was the Author, and heaped Reproaches in abundance upon our *Common-Wealth*; Reproaches, which I then could not hear with Patience, nor can I call them now to Mind without Regret. In a Word, his insolent Invectives raised me into the most outrageous Passion, that ever I was in, through the whole Course of my Life. But, not to insist on the various other Arguments I urged on that Occasion, in defence of my Country; it happily occurred to me, to put them in mind, how the *Amphissæans* had impiously prophaned the sacred Ground, which I pointed out to the *Amphictyones*, from the Place on which I stood: (for (a) that Plain, called *Cyrhæum*, lies below the Temple of *Delphos*, so that there is from

(f) That Plain, called *Cyrhæum*,] This was so peculiar an Appropriation to *Delphi*, that it is sometimes put for the Oracle itself: Thus,

Tunc et Apollineæ tacuere Oracula Cirrhæ. Stat. L. 7.

Though, I know, it has been said, there was an Oracle here too. It is imagined by some, that *Chryses* the Priest of *Apollo*, whose Captive Daughter *Agamemnon* refused to ransom, was Priest of *Cyrhæ*, at that time called, *Chryssa*. But this I shall leave to the learned: And only take Notice, what inviolable Respect was thought due to Things and Persons dedicated to the Service of the Gods. What a Ha-

vock was made of the Plunderers of *Delphi*, and the sacrilegious Usurpers of the *Cirrhæum*? What Destruction was scattered through all the *Græcian* Camp, before *Troy*, for the Dishonour done to the Reverend old Priest? Indeed the whole Priesthood were held in great Respect among the *Heathens*. Many of them were vastly wealthy, and yet enjoyed their Riches, unenvied. *Chryses*, *Homer* tells us, brought immense Ransoms with him, to redeem his Daughter. However, it must be owned, that their Temperance, Chastity, and other Virtues, generally speaking, procured them in those Days, the good Opinion of all People.

thence a very fair Prospect of it). (a) You see, said I, O *Amphictyones*, how this Plain is occupied, and cultivated by the *Amphisseans*; you see what Potteries and Inns are set up there; you see with your own Eyes, how that sacred and accursed Port is fortified and rebuilt; you are sensible your selves, and need no other Witnesses to prove, that they have exacted Toll, and raised vast Sums of Money out of this devoted Harbour; and at the same time, I commanded the Oracle of the God to be read before them, together with the Oath that had been sworn, and the Imprecation made by your Forefathers; and then, I protested in the most solemn manner, in behalf of the People of *Athens*, in behalf of my own Person, of my Children, and of all my Family, that I would not only help the God, and maintain the Privileges of the sacred Ground, (pursuant to the Tenor of the Oath), with Heart, and Hand, and Voice, and all my Might; but would also make the strongest Efforts to discharge my Country from her Engagements to the Gods. But do you, said I, look to your own Safety. We are now about to celebrate (b) the Feast of the Baskets. The Sacrifices

(a) You see, said I, O *Amphictyones* &c.] As *Theseus* had appointed all the Inhabitants of *Attica*, now united into one πολιτεία or Citizenship, to meet in one Common-Council Chamber, (the *Prytaneum*), to consult about the publick Interest. So *Amphictyon*, or whoever he was that instituted the Council under his Name, appointed all the different *Common-Wealths* of *Greece* to meet at *Delphi*, in order to adjust the common Interest of all *Greece*. Each *Common-Wealth* sent their Representatives, called *Pylagoræ*. Pyle is

a Land-Strait, or as it were, the Gate or Entrance into a Country; hence *Pylagoræ*. The *Hieromnemons*, were the Registers of their Proceedings, especially with regard to all sacred and religious Affairs. We learn from *Æschines*, that *Athens* sent one *Hieromnemon*, and three *Pylagoræ*. *Delphi* was the most convenient Place for this Meeting, because it was the Centre of *Greece*, and for that Reason, perhaps, called ὀμφαλος.

(b) The Feast of the Baskets Κανὰ.] Baskets, with the Mysterious Furniture of the Ceremoneis were used

sces are already upon the Altars : And you are all preparing your selves to address the Gods both for publick and private Blessings. But consider, with what Voice, with what Mind, with what Face, and with what Confidence, can you put up your Petitions, if you suffer these impious Men, who have been so solemnly cursed and devoted, to escape with Impunity? For, the Punishment denounced in the Imprecation is not expressed in dark or doubtful Terms, but evidently extends not only to the impious Profaners of sacred Things themselves, but also to those who suffer such to escape the Vengeance which they deserve. For, thus the Words of the *Imprecation* run towards the Conclusion of it: ‘ May those who suffer the Transgressours to escape Punishment, never offer an acceptable Sacrifice, either to *Apollo*, or to *Diana*, to *Lactona*, or to *Minerva* the Provident; but, on the contrary, let all their Offerings and Sacrifices be rejected, and abhorred.’

39. After I had urged this, and a great many other Arguments to the same Purpose, and had retired out of the general Council, a great Tumult and Out-cry arose among the *Amphictyones*; and the Debate was now no longer concerning the Shields which we deposited in the Temple, but concerning the Punishment to be inflicted on the impious *Amphisseans*. But the Day being far spent, the Cryer came and made Proclamation, that all the Men of *Delphos*, both Slaves and Free-men, who were two Years above the Age of Manhood, should repair the next Morning at

used in several Feasts, carried up on Virgins Heads: As golden Baskets in the great *Dionysia*; and two Baskets of another Make, in the Feast of *Minerva*. *Wolffius* reads this Word, *Kοισα*, the Common Feast instituted per-

haps, for the *Amphictyones*; and it seems to be the better Reading, if the Word *Kοισα* may be trusted alone.——I have, however, followed the common Reading.

the Dawn of Day to a certain Place, called (a) the *Offertory Plain*, well furnished with Mattocks and other Engines of War. And the same Cryer, immediately after, made a second Proclamation, that all the *Hieromnemons* and *Pylagoræ* should go themselves to the said appointed Place, in order to help the God, and maintain the Privileges of the sacred Ground; and moreover that, should the Deputies of any State absent themselves upon any pretence whatsoever, they should be driven out of the Temple, be obnoxious to the Vengeance denounced in the *Imprecation*, and for ever accursed. Accordingly the next Day, as soon as the Morning arose, we came to the Place appointed, and from thence went down to that Tract of Land, called *Cyrrhæum*, disported the Harbour, burned all the Houses, and then began to retire. But as we were thus employed, the *Locrians*, and *Amphissæans*, who lived about sixty Furlongs distance from *Delphos*, came out against us, in order to fall upon us with all their armed Forces: And certainly, had we not fled to *Delphos* with the greatest speed, we should all have run the Hazard of being cut to Pieces. The Day following, *Cottyphus* our President summoned an Assem-

(a) *The Offertory plain, Θυρεῖον.*] A Piece of Ground designed to be devoted, was first rifled, and made a Desolation: And this was a common Execration among the Ancients. Thus *David* says, *Let his Habitation be void and desolate, and no Man to dwell therein.* Thus God himself expressly curses the Man that should rebuild *Jericho*; which was literally fulfilled, as it was foretold by the Prophet: And indeed this is the only way that *Soil* can be sacrificed. To confirm this, we

may observe, that in the earliest Ages, the only Sacrifices offered to the Gods, were either the Esculent Fruits of Trees with their Leaves; or, as *Porphyrus* tells us, the Herbage of the Field, and this was called *θύμα*, or *θυρεῖον*. It is known, that in *Homer's* Time, the Word *θύω*, was not applied to the killing of the Victim, but *πέζω*, or *σπάω*: In Imitation of which, the *Latins* use the Word *Facio*, thus,

Cum faciam vitulam pro frugibus, ipse Venito. Virg.

bly

bly of the *Amphictyones*, (a) (for they not only call that an Assembly, which is composed of the *Pylagoræ* and *Hieromnemons*, but of those also that come to offer Sacrifices and consult the Oracle), in which there were many grievous Accusations brought against the *Amphisseans*, and as many Encomiums heaped upon the Republick of *Athens*. In short, the Result of the whole Debate was, to pass a Decree, that the *Hieromnemons* should meet at a certain Time, before the next general Session of the *Pylæan* Convention, at *Thermopylæ*, and there produce a Decree specifying what kind of Punishment was proper to be inflicted on the *Amphisseans*, not only for their Crimes committed against the God and the sacred Ground, but also against the *Amphictyones*. To prove the Truth of what I assert, let the Decree itself be read.

The D E C R E E.

40. When therefore we had, upon our return, given in this Decree to the Senate, and afterwards to the People in the general Assembly, and they having all approved of our Conduct, and being fully determined to undertake and defend with burning Zeal so religious a Cause: *Demosthenes*, in pursuance of the

(a) For they not only call that an Assembly, &c.] The *Amphictyones* held two Sorts of Assemblies. The one was called, *A particular Assembly*, or *συνέδριον*, composed only of the Deputies of the States of *Greece*. The other was called, *A general Assembly*, convened upon extraordinary Occasions, and composed not only of the Deputies of the States, but also of all others who, up-

on the Score of Religion, happened to be at *Delphos*; but then, these latter had no Right to give their Suffrages upon any Occasion, but had only the Honour of assisting at their publick Counsels, and of being Witnesses of whatever Resolutions the Deputies should take; and this general Assembly was called, *ἐκκλησία*, of which the Orator here speaks.

corrupt Agreement which he had privately made with the *Amphisseans*, stood up, and publicly opposed it. For which base Proceeding I openly accused him, and in the Presence of you all, plainly convicted him of Bribery. Finding therefore, he could not thus openly impose upon us, he walked into the Senate-House, and after bringing over some of the Members to his Side, He, by taking advantage of the Simplicity and Inexperience of one of them, got a Decree preferred, which he himself carried afterwards into the Assembly of the People, where he managed Matters so as to have it passed and confirmed by the Majority of such as were present; and this, after the Assembly was dismissed, after I was withdrawn, (for had I been present, I would never have suffered it), and in short, when the greatest Part of the Multitude was gone. The most material Part of which Decree was, that those who exercised the Offices of *Hieromnemon* and *Pylagoræ* in the *Common-Wealth* of *Athens*, should for ever after be obliged to repair to the *Common-Council* of the *Amphictyones* at *Delphos* and *Thermopylæ*, precisely upon the Days and Times appointed, for that Purpose, by our Forefathers. A Clause this, specious enough indeed in appearance, but in reality most base and disingenuous: And that, because he thereby prohibited them from meeting at that Council at *Thermopylæ* before mentioned, which was, through Necessity, appointed to be held, before the usual Time of their Session. And afterwards, he inserted in the very same Decree another Clause, more plain indeed, but much more pernicious, namely, that the *Athenian Hieromnemon* and the *Pylagoræ* for the Time being, should have no manner of Commerce with that Council to be assembled at *Thermopylæ*, either with regard to their Debates, or their Actions, or their Decrees, or any other Matter whatsoever. Now, what is the Import of this Phrase, to have no manner of Commerce with them? Whether, O *Athenians*, shall I frankly speak the Truth, or what shall

shall most sensibly gratifie your Sense of Hearing? I will for once venture to speak the Truth: For, to Harangues fraught with Flattery and Adulation it is, that we may justly ascribe all the Miseries and Misfortunes, in which our *Common-Wealth* is this Day involved. Why then, the Import of that Phrase can be no other, than to make you forget the Oaths taken by your Ancestors in the most solemn Manner, and to blot out of your Memories the *Imprecation* denounced against the Transgressours of it, together with the Answer delivered to them by the Oracle of the God.

41. Hence it came to pass, O *Athenians*, that we remained in *Athens*, pursuant to the Injunctions of this Decree; but all the rest of the *Amphietyones* assembled at the *Pyle*, except the Deputies of one State only: (a State, the Name of which I shall at present forbear to mention, and I beseech the Gods, that no other State of *Greece* may ever be plunged into the like Misfortunes.) Being assembled, I say, at the *Pyle*, they decreed, that War should be immediately made upon the *Amphisseans*, and that *Cottyphus* the (a) *Pharsalian*, at that time President of the Assembly, should be chosen General; (and this, at a Juncture when *Philip* was neither in *Macedon*, nor even in *Greece*, but in the remotest Parts of *Scythia*, and yet *Demosthenes* will not fail presently to assert with Impudence, that I incited him to make an Invasion upon the *Greeks*). The *Amphietyones* having defeated and conquered the *Amphisseans* in their first Expedition, treated them with great Clemency and Moderation. For, as a Punishment of all the flagrant *Impieties* which they had committed, they only laid a pecuniary Mulct upon them, which they ordered them to pay

(a) *Pharsalian*.] *Pharsalus*, of the River *Apidanus*. *Strab.*
A City of *Thessaly*, on the Banks | L. 8.

to *Apollo* at a certain Time appointed, driving into Exile the Authors of the impious Faction, and restoring those, who, on account of their Piety, had abandoned their Country, to their former Privileges and Possessions. But, when they afterwards not only refused to pay the Fine that had been laid upon them, to the God, but also presumed to recal those abandoned Wretches that had been driven into Banishment, and expelled those religious Persons that had been restored by the *Amphictyones*, then it was, that the second Expedition against the *Amphisseans* was undertaken; *Philip* returning a long time after this from his *Scythian* Expedition; at a Time, when the Gods themselves offered us the sovereign Command in this sacred War, had not the Bribery and Corruption of *Demosthenes* prevented our Republick from obtaining that honour.

42. For, did not the Gods themselves foretel us? did they not forewarn us by all other Methods, except that of speaking to us with human Voices, to be upon our Guard, and consult our own Interest and Welfare? For my part, I must own, that I never saw a State more signally preserved by the Care of the Gods, nor more remarkably overturned and destroyed by a wicked Set of Orators. Was it not Warning sufficient for us to take Care of ourselves, to behold that Prodigy which openly happened at the Celebration of our most sacred Mysteries, namely, the (a) sudden Death of the initiated Persons? Did not *Amyniades* caution us on that Occasion, to be upon our Guard, and to send certain Persons to *Delphos* to enquire of the God, what Course we should pursue? But did not *Demosthenes* oppose,

(a) *The sudden Death of the initiated Persons: Μυσῶν.* The Feasts called Eleusinia, were performed with such mysterious Solemnity, that they were called, Μυ-

στήσια καὶ τ' ἐξοχὴν This was the solemn Festival for Initiations. *Μυσῶν*, were the Persons initiated. The Priests were called *Hierophantæ*.

and dissuade you from it, rudely asserting, that the *Pythian Priestess* was (a) inspired by *Philip*? An uneducated Fellow, thus insolently and opprobriously to employ that Liberty of Speech, which you yourselves had indulged him? In short, did he not lately, in Contempt of ominous and unpropitious Sacrifices, send away your Troops into manifest and inevitable Danger, and this too, though he himself had formerly the Confidence to affirm, that *Philip* forbore invading the Territories of *Athens*, merely because his Sacrifices happened to prove inauspicious? What Punishment then do you deserve, O thou Plague of *Greece*? For, if the Conqueror would not enter the Territories of the conquered, merely because his Sacrifices were not propitious, whether ought you, who, though ignorant of all future Events, and in open Defiance of those sacred Mysteries that did not favour us, yet dispatched away our Troops into so imminent Danger; whether, I say, ought you to be honoured with a Crown for those Calamities which you have brought upon the Publick, or to be driven out, and for ever banished your Country?

43. What is there so surprizing and incredible, that has not happened in our Times? We have not lived at the common Rate of the rest of Mankind, but were born to make our Story a Paradox to all future Ages. Is not the great King of *Persia* himself; he who dug through Mount (b) *Athos*; he

(a) *Inspired by Philip* *φιλίππου* *Ζευ.*] This Word can scarcely be rendered well into *English*. Here we see Religion is made the Blind, as it generally is, to cover the Designs of Policy: And by the Craft of designing Men, the lively Oracles themselves, have been forced into Answers as agreeable to the Ambitious, as ever the *Delphians* were to *Philip*.
(b) *Athos*] A famous Mountain in the *Chersonesus*, upon the *Ægean* Sea, on the Land-side of which, a Ditch was made by *Xerxes*, (who, by way of Eminence, was generally called, *The King*), twelve Furlongs long. *Herod. L. 7.*

who

who laid a Bridge over the *Hellepont* ; he who imperiously demanded Earth and Water, in Token of Homage from all the States of *Greece* ; he, who in his Epistles, assumed the Stile and Title of Lord of the whole World from the rising to the setting Sun ; Is not he, I say, this Day obliged to make the strongest Efforts, not for Sovereignty and Dominion over the rest of Mankind, but to secure and defend his own Person ? Do we not see, that it is the peculiar Happiness of those very People, to be honoured with the supreme Command of all the *Greeks* against this mighty *Persian*, who had so zealously asserted the just Rights and Privileges of the Temple of *Delphos* ? And as to the City of *Thebes*, was it not in one Day's Time, though situated in our Neighbourhood, cruelly torn out of the very Heart of *Greece* ? And though the Fate of that People might seem just, in regard it may be ascribed to a Pursuit of Measures contrary to the common Interest ; yet their Misconduct seems not to be so much the Effect of human Weakness, as of divine Vengeance and Infatuation. But, as to the unfortunate *Lacedæmonians*, though they were not so deeply engaged in that impious Sacrilege committed at the Temple of *Delphos* ; are not they, I say, who always heretofore aspired to the Sovereign Command in *Greece*, at this Day, in order to proclaim and perpetuate their Misfortunes to Generations unborn, about to send Embassadors to *Alexander*, to offer him Hostages, and to inform him, that themselves and their Country are willing to submit to his Will, and to accept of such Terms, and undergo such Punishments, as the injured and enraged Conqueror shall think proper to prescribe and inflict upon them ? And, *what is still more surprizing*, our own Republick, the common Refuge of all the *Greeks*, (a Republick, whose Protection all the other States of *Greece* used formerly to implore and obtain by solemn Embassies), does now no more contend for the Sovereignty of *Greece* ; but is, on the contrary,

trary, reduced to the fatal Necessity of defending the very Soil of *Attica*. And all these Evils and Misfortunes have befallen us, since *Demosthenes* came to be employed in the Administration of our publick Affairs. It was a good Observation of the Poet *Hesiod* concerning such Men, who (a) somewhere in his Instructions to States and Nations advises, not to suffer any wicked or corrupt Orators to have any Share in the Management of the publick Affairs. But I will repeat you his own Words. For, in my Apprehension, the (b) Design of our Reading the Precepts of the Poets, when we are Children, is no other than in order to make use of them, when we grow up to be Men.

*Whole unoffending Cities oftentimes,
Suffer for one distinguish'd Villain's Crimes.
The Gods send down Destruction from on High,
The Plague and Famine rage, the People dye.
Imbattl'd Legions tremble o'er the Plain,
Walls tumble down, Ships founder in the Main.*

Now, if you strip these Lines of the Numbers and Versification, and regard the Sense alone, they will, in my Opinion, appear to be no longer the Poetry of *Hesiod*, but rather a prophetick Description of the Administration of *Demosthenes*. For, during his Management of the publick Affairs, not only Fleets by Sea, and Armies by Land, but whole States and Nations, have been utterly ruined, destroyed, and undone.

(a) *Who somewhere*] ὅπου
καὶ ἡμετέραν. v. 238.

(b) *The Design of our Reading, &c.*] This handsome Reflection of the Orator's, shews not only how we should use the Poets, but how the Poets should use us:

Not by beautiful Landscapes only of Virtue to amuse us, but by practical Rules teach us how to animate Virtue, and exhibit it to the View, in a living Example.

44. For my part, I cannot help being of Opinion, that neither *Phrynondas*, nor *Eurybatus*, nor any of those who were in former Ages remarkable for Villainy, can in any sort vie with this Deceiver, this Arch-jugler *Demosthenes*: A Man, who, (O Heaven and Earth, and all ye Gods and Men, that can bear the Truth!) has the Impudence to look you in the Face, and say, that the *Thebans* entered not into an Alliance with us, either because they were driven to it by the Necessity of the Times, or for fear of the Dangers that every where surrounded them, or yet upon account of your own Reputation and Glory, but were perswaded into it, purely by the Eloquence of his own Orations: Though nothing can be more certain than that many Embassadors were sent to *Thebes* before *Demosthenes*, who were all the familiar and intimate Friends of the *Thebans*: In the first Place, there was *Thrasylbulus* the (a) *Collytæan*, our General, a Person of singular Credit with the *Thebans*: Next, *Thraso* the (b) *Archicæan*, a Man much in their Esteem on account of his publick Hospitality: *Leodamas* the *Acharnanian*, a Man who was not only equal in Eloquence to *Demosthenes*, but was also, in my Opinion, a much sweeter and more agreeable Orator: *Archidamus* the (c) *Peleæan*, a powerful Speaker, and one, who, during the Course of his Administration, was often exposed to great Dangers on account of his Zeal for the *Thebans*: *Aristophon* the (d) *Azenian*, who, though a Magistrate, was a long while accused for being of the *Beotian* Faction: And lastly, the Orator *Pyrrander*, who is still alive: And yet, none of all these could ever prevail upon the *Thebans* to enter into Friendship or an Alliance with us. But though I perfectly know the

(a) <i>The Collytæan</i>] <i>Colyttus</i> , A Town in <i>Attica</i> . <i>Harpocrat.</i>	(c) <i>The Peleæan</i>] <i>Pelex</i> , a Bo- rough in <i>Attica</i> . <i>Steph. Byz.</i>
(b) <i>The Archicæan</i>] <i>Archicæa</i> , a Borough of <i>Attica</i> ; the Birth- Place of <i>Xenophon</i> .	(d) <i>The Azenian</i>] <i>Azenia</i> , a Town in <i>Attica</i> . <i>Steph. Byz.</i>

Cause of their thus obstinately refusing it, yet in regard to their Misfortunes, I shall not at present make Mention of it. I only say, that after *Philip* had taken away (a) *Nicea* from them, and bestowed it to the *Theffalians*; after he had brought back that same War which he had before removed from the *Bæotian* Territories, to the very Walls of *Thebes*, through the Country of *Phocis*: And, in a Word, after he had seized upon (b) *Elatea*, and fortified and placed a Garrison in it; then, I say it was, and not till then, that the *Thebans*, thus pressed with Difficulties, and beset on every side with the greatest Dangers, sent to implore the Succour of the People of *Athens*. Upon which, you marched out with your Army, and were all, though under Arms, both Horse and Foot, received into *Thebes*; and this, before *Demosthenes* had either spoke or wrote one Syllable concerning that Alliance, whereof, he says, *he was himself the Author*. So that, the Necessity of the Times, the Terrors under which they laboured, and the absolute Necessity of an Alliance, were what threw open the Gates, and introduced you into *Thebes*, and not the Eloquence or Measures of *Demosthenes*.

45. For, in the Course of these Transactions, *Demosthenes* committed three Injuries, and those of the greatest Magnitude, against you. First, when *Philip* pretended to make War upon you, though he was in Reality much more exasperated against the *Thebans*, as the Event has plainly demonstrated, (and what better Proof can be offered?); This he craftily concealed, tho' a Matter of so great Importance to you, and by reporting, that we were to enter into an Alliance, not at all owing to the Necessity of the Times, but to his own Negotiations, he, in the first Place, perswaded the Peo-

(a) *Nicea*] The Haven-Town
to the City of *Megara*. *Strab.*
L. 8.

(b) *Elatea*] A City of *Pho-*
cis, by the River *Cephissus*, *Strab.*
L. 9.

ple to wave all Debates concerning the particular Provisions and Conditions of it, but gladly to accept of it, when concluded; upon any Terms. Having gained this Point, he then delivered up all *Bæotia* to the *Thebans*, which he effected by inserting this Clause in the Decree, " If any *Bæotian* City shall revolt from the *Thebans*, then the *Athenians* shall succour the *Bæotians* that are in *Thebes* ; thus, by such specious Expressions, stealing from one side, and transferring to the other, according to his Custom, the real Property and Dominion of Things ; as if truly the *Bæotians*, when they found themselves highly injured, would rather chuse to acquiesce in *Demosthenes* his artful Wording of the Treaty, than express a just and proper Resentment of such injurious Treatment at their Hands. In the next Place, he imposed two Thirds of the Expence of the War upon you, who were remotest from Danger, and only one Third upon the *Thebans*, in both which Affairs he justly incurred the Censure of Bribery and Corruption. The Sovereignty of the Seas he left indeed in common, but the whole Expence he appropriated to you ; and the Command by Land, (for it is incumbent upon me not to amuse you with Trifles), he entirely conferred upon the *Thebans* , insomuch, that *Stratocles* our General, had it not in his Power, during the Course of that bloody War, either to consult or provide for the Safety of your Troops. But I am not the only Person that blames this Misconduct, though some perhaps there are who would willingly pass it over in Silence : I only mention it ; for the whole World blames and cries out against it : Nay, you yourselves are deeply conscious of it : and yet you boil not with Anger, nor burn with Indignation at it : For, you are so well accustomed to bear the repeated Villainies of *Demosthenes*, that you are not in the least surprized to hear them mentioned. But you should not, O *Athenians*, you should not, behave with so great Insensibility towards him ; but

on

on the contrary, should rouse up your Indignation, and take Vengeance of him, if ever you pretend to expect any tolerable Success in the Affairs of this Commonwealth for the future.

46. The second Crime he committed against you, is yet more atrocious and flagrant than this; namely, his undermining our Constitution, and stealing away the Authority and Prerogative of both Senate and People, by transferring the Discussion and Decision of all Affairs to the Tribunal established in the Citadel of *Thebes*, called *Cadmæa*, and managing all Treaties and Negotiations by a clandestine Agreement with the chief Governours of *Bœotia*. Nay, he worked himself up to such an absolute Tyranny, that, when he ascended the *Rostrum*, he has often presumed to say, that (a) he would go of himself upon what Embassy he pleased, though not authorised or sent by you; and that, if any of the Generals should attempt to oppose him, he, in order, no doubt, to keep your chief Magistrates in Subjection, and accustom them tamely to submit to all his Proposals, told them, that (b) the Chair should impeach the *Prætorium*, asserting that he himself in that *Rostrum* had done you more signal Service, and deserved better of you, than the Generals in the *Prætorium*. After this, what, with his making false Musters of the foreign Troops; what, with his robbing the Soldiers of their Pay; and what, in short, with his

(a) That he would go of himself, &c.] To do so without a proper Commission, was Death by the Law. *Dem. defal. Legat.*

(b) That the Chair should impeach the *Prætorium*, &c.] *διαδικασίαι*, is a general Word for all kinds of Law-Suits. *στρατηγείον*, was the General's Tent, where the Court of General Officers was held, for Corruption, Bribery, or,

it may be, for stopping the Soldiers Pay, and for Mutiny. It is observable, that *Æschines* has sometimes used the very Stile to *Demosthenes*, that *Achilles* does to *Agamemnon* in *Homer*; and tho' perhaps, it is not unlikely that it might be applicable to *Demosthenes*, yet probably *Æschines* might have had some of the *Athenian* Generals in View too.

hiring out Ten Thousand Foreigners to the *Amphisseans*, he amassed immense Sums of Money. And, notwithstanding I called both Gods and Men to bear Witness of his Rapinè, and loudly complained in the publick Assembly, of his forcibly tearing away from us our mercenary Troops ; yet he left our Commonwealth naked and defenceless, and exposed, for want of them, to the greatest Dangers. For, what think you, could *Philip* more ardently wish for at that Conjunction? What more, than to divide our Army, and engage separately with our domestick Troops, and separately with our Mercenaries, at *Amphissæ* ; and that, in order to give us so fatal a Blow, that the rest of *Greece* might be intimidated and terrified into an immediate Submission ? And yet *Demosthenes*, the grand Author of all these Evils and Misfortunes, is so far from being satisfied with escaping Punishment, that he boils with Resentment, if you do not honour him with a golden Crown ; and is so far from being content with having it proclaimed in your Presence only, that he is also mightily enraged, if the Proclamation be not made in the Presence of all the *Greeks*. Thus, it seems, a Man of a deprav'd Nature, when once possess'd of exorbitant Power, always spreads Ruin and Desolation every where around him.

47. I proceed now to lay before you the Third and most notorious Piece of Injustice of any yet mentioned, which he committed against you. *Philip* on the one Hand, now no longer continuing to despise the *Greeks*, well knowing, (for he was no raw unexperienced Person), that the Day would come, which by the Chance of War, might perhaps, in one Instant, put a Period to all his Conquests ; began therefore to entertain Thoughts of making a Peace, and of sending an Embassy to you to treat about it : and, on the other Hand, the chief Magistrates of *Thebes* greatly dreading the Danger that approached them,

them, and indeed, they had sufficient Reason for it ; For, (a) it was not an Orator that declined the Military Service, nor one that deserted his Rank in Battle, that informed them of it, but the *Phocian War*, a ten Years dear-bought Experience, which served as a continual Monument to put them in Mind of it ; This, I say, being the true State of Affairs at that Conjunction, *Demosthenes* soon perceived it, and suspecting, that (b) the chief Governours of *Beotia* would make a separate Peace for themselves, and take *Philip's* Gold, without giving him any Share thereof, (for he imagined he should be utterly undone, should he by any Means be hindered from receiving a Bribe), starts up in the Assembly ; (before any Person whatsoever had spoke one Word either for, or against, a Peace with *Philip*, and purely with a Design to put the *Beotian* Governors in Mind, by this previous but publick Proclamation, to share whatever Profit they should gain with him), and swore by *Minerva*, (whom it seems, *Phidias* carved on purpose for *Demosthenes* both to make a constant Income of, and forswear himself by), that should any one offer to speak a single Word concerning our making a Peace with *Philip*, he would instantly drag him by the Hair of his Head to Prison ;

(a) For it was not an Orator that declined the Military Service, nor one that deserted his Rank, &c.] *Ασπράντος*, was one who declined, or hid from the Military Service; and *λιπώτακτοι*, were such as deserted their Ranks; and both these were punished with *ατιμία*, which was a Forfeiture of all kind of Share either in Civil or Religious Rites. When *Demosthenes* was reproach'd for running away at the Battle of *Cheronea*, he put it off thus, *Ἄνθρωπος οὐ φεύγων πάλιν μαχήσεται*. The Man that runs away may

fight again: Thus rendered by *Hudibras*,
The Man that fights and runs away
May live to fight another Day,
But he that is in Battle slain
Will never rise to fight again.

(b) That the chief Governours of *Beotia*, &c.] *Βοιωτάρχαι* The General Council of *Beotia* was generally assembled at *Thebes*, to which the principal Cities, and Boroughs, as *Tanagra*, *Thespie*, *Platea*, and several others, sent their Deputies who managed all publick Affairs: And these Deputies were called, *Βοιωτάρχαι*.

in this Point, imitating the (a) Policy of *Cleophon*, who is said, by such Behaviour, to have destroyed his Country in the War which we made with the *Lacedæmonians*. But, when the chief Magistrates of *Thebes*, not only disregarded what he had said, but also, that you might think of nothing else but Peace, countermanded your Troops that were on their March towards them; then he became frantick, and ascending the *Rostrum*, called the *Bæotian* Governours, the Betrayers of *Greece*, and said, he would prefer a Decree, (he who never had Courage enough to look an Enemy in the Face), enjoining you to send Embassadors to *Thebes*, in order to demand a Passage for your Troops, through the *Theban* Territories, against *Philip*. This struck the chief Governours of *Thebes*, with so great Shame and Confusion, that, lest they should appear to be in Reality the Betrayers of *Greece*, they abandoned all Thoughts of Peace, and ran precipitantly into a War.

(c) *The Policy of Cleophon, &c.*] When *Alcibiades*, one of the *Athenian* Admirals, about the twenty-third Year of the *Peloponnesian* War, had defeated the *Lacedæmonians* by Sea, the *Lacedæmonians* dispatch'd away Embassadors, the chief of whom was *Endius*, to *Athens*, in order to negotiate a Peace. The most moderate Men among the *Athenians* were willing to hear of an Accommodation, but such as gained by the War, strongly opposed it. Among these the principal was *Cleophon*, the most eminent of the Orators at this Time, according to *Diodorus Sic.* though formerly a Maker of Harps, and a Person whom many remembered to have been bound with Fetters, but who got himself surreptitiously registred among the

Citizens. He, among many Things which he spoke, fit for his own Purpose, made particular mention of the late Success, which he so extolled, that he perswaded the *Athenians* that Fortune had now forgot to be inconstant. Upon which, the People being greatly puffed up, and conceiving great Hopes, that by the Conduct of *Alcibiades*, they should re-obtain their antient Power, refused to entertain the Proposals made by *Endius*; of which ill Advice they were afterwards sensible, when it was too late, for they were at length reduced to such Extremities and plunged into such Difficulties by the *Lacedæmonians*, that they could never recover themselves out of them.

48. Here then, we ought to commemorate those illustrious Heroes, whose Monument *Demosthenes*, after he had sent them into the very Jaws of Danger, in contempt of inauspicious Sacrifices, yet had the Assurance, with those same cowardly Feet of his, that ran away from their Post in Battle, to ascend; and there make a funeral Panegyrick on their Valour and Bravery. Gods! that you who are the most improper Creature alive to undertake any great or important Action, should yet be so astonishingly daring in Discourse! Can you have the Confidence to look this august Assembly in the Face, and tell them, you deserve to be honoured with a Crown in recompence of the Miseries into which you have plunged your Country? And if he tells you so, will you, O Men of *Athens*, suffer those departed Heroes to die in your Memory as they have done in your Service? Give me then your Favour for one Moment, and imagine, that you are not in the *Forum*, but at the *Theatre*; imagine, you now see the Crier advancing, and just upon the Point of making Proclamation pursuant to *Ctesiphon's* Decree, 'that *Demosthenes* shall be honoured with a Crown;' and then consider, whether you think it probable, that the Friends and Relations of those who have spilt their Blood in defence of their Country, will shed more Tears, and be more deeply affected with those dismal Tragedies of unfortunate Heroes that will presently be represented, than with the monstrous Ingratitude of the People of *Athens*? For, what *Græcian* Heart would not melt; nay, who that had the least ingenuous Education would not be touched with the deepest Concern, when he calls this Custom, (if no other Consideration will prevail), to mind at the *Theatre*, namely, 'that in former Times, when the Tragedians were about to act their Plays, as they are this Day, (I mean in those Times, when the Affairs of this *Common-Wealth* were much better administered, and had better Governours to conduct them), the Crier
' in

' in his Proceſſion, took thoſe Orphans, whoſe Fathers
 ' had bravely fallen in the Wars; and having fitted
 ' them with a compleat Suit of Armour, preſented
 ' the Youths to the People, and made this excellent
 ' Proclamation, the ſtrongeſt and beſt choſen to ex-
 ' cite their Valour, namely, ' that the People of *A-*
 ' *thens* have educated with the greateſt Care all thoſe
 ' Youths, whoſe Fathers were ſlain in the Wars,
 ' manfully fighting in the Service of their Country,
 ' until they arrived at Men's Eſtate; and having now
 ' preſented each of them, with a compleat Suit of
 ' Armour, they diſmiſs them with Wiſhes of Suc-
 ' ceſs, to provide for themſelves, (a) and order them to
 ' be admitted into the Front-Seats.) This was the
 Proclamation made by the Crier in thoſe Times, but
 that Cuſtom is now no more. For, upon his pre-
 ſenting the Author and ſole Cauſe of all theſe Chil-
 dren's being left Orphans to the People, what can he
 ſay, or what can he proclaim? Even though he
 ſhould repeat the accumulated Falſhoods preſcribed by
 the Decree in favour of *Demosthenes*, yet the Force
 of Truth will burſt forth, his Baſeneſs and Villany
 will cry aloud, and give the Crier the Lye, when he
 ſays, ' that the People of *Athens* honour this Man
 ' remarkable for Wickedneſs, (if indeed he be a Man),
 ' with a Crown, upon account of his Virtue:
 ' This grand Coward and Deſerter of his Rank, on
 ' account of his Valour and Bravery.' But do not, I
 conjure you by *Jupiter* and all the Gods, do not,
 O *Athenians*, erect a Trophy to your own eternal Diſ-
 honour in the *Theatre* of *Bacchus*. Do not convict

(2) *And order them to be ad-*
mitted into the Front Seats.] This
 was looked upon to be no incon-
 ſiderable Honour among the *A-*
thenians. Thoſe who were inti-
 tled to it, might either in the Se-
 nate, in the Aſſembly of the
 People, or in any other publick

Meeting, according to *Sigonius*,
 diſpoſſeſs all others of theſe Seats,
 and ſit in them themſelves; but
 above all others, this was a Privi-
 lege granted to the Children of
 ſuch as had perished in defence
 of their Country.

the

the People of *Athens* of Madness and Folly in the Face of all the *Greeks*. Do not remind the unfortunate *Thebans* of the irreparable Losses, and irreparable Mischiefs, which they have sustained, seeing they are fled into your Arms for Protection, and you have kindly received them into your City; a People, whom *Demosthenes*, by his corrupt Practices, and receiving King *Philip's* Gold, has robbed of their Wives, and of their Children, of their Altars, and of their Sepulchres.

49. But since you were not personally present at their unspeakable Calamities, I beseech you to take a View of them now in Imagination. Imagine then, you behold their City taken; their Walls rased; their Houses all in Flames; their Wives and their Children led into Captivity; both Men and Women now in the Evening of Life unlearning Liberty, overwhelmed with Tears, and making earnest Supplication to you for Justice; filled with Indignation, and fired with resentment, not against those who inflict Tortures and Punishments upon them, but against those who have occasioned their being plunged into all these Miseries; In short, imagine you see them all pressing and conjuring you by no means to crown the Pest and Destroyer of *Greece*, but on the contrary, to guard against the evil Genius and Disposition of the Man, and to beware of the Curse that constantly attends him: For no Undertakings, either of publick States, or private Persons, have ever been crowned with Success, that pursued the Counsels or Schemes of *Demosthenes*. And, do you not blush for Shame, O Men of *Athens*, to enact this Law against those Sailors that steer Ships over to *Salamis*, namely, ‘ that if any Pilot happen to have his
‘ Ship cast away in the Passage, even though against
‘ his Will, it shall be no longer lawful for him to be

(d) Salamis.] An Island adjacent to Eleusis of Attica. L. 8. Stra.

‘ a Pilot.’ A Law this, calculated on Purpose to make People cautious how they exposed to Dangers the Persons of the *Greeks*: And yet will you suffer the Man, who has overturned and utterly destroyed, not only our Republick, but all the Rest of *Greece*, to preside any longer and sit at the Helm of all your Affairs?

50. I proceed now to treat of the fourth Period of Time, which includes the present State of our Affairs. And here, I beseech you to call to Mind, how *Demosthenes* not only deserted his Rank in the Battle of *Chæronea*; but also embarked himself in one of the Gallies belonging to our Republick, and cruising up and down the Sea, exacted Money from the *Greeks*: And when the unexpected Welfare and Safety of his Country permitted his return, he at first, being exceedingly dispirited and trembling with Fear, crept up half dead into the *Rostrum*, and entreated you to elect him, *Keeper of the Peace*; but you would not in the Beginning, so much as suffer a Decree to run in the Name of *Demosthenes*, but made use of the Name of *Nausicles* for that Purpose; and yet, this very *Demosthenes* is so invincibly impudent as to demand the Honour of a Crown. After this, upon the Death of *Philip*, and *Alexander*’s Accession to the Throne, he, pretending a fresh Miracle, erected Altars to (b) *Pausanias*, and involved the Senate in the Guilt of keeping a solemn Festival of Thanksgiving, and offering Sacrifices, for the joyful News. And as to *Alexander*, he was pleased to give him the Nick-name of (e) *Margita*, and had the Assurance to affirm, that he would not

(b) *Pausanias*.] The Name of the Man that murdered *Philip* of *Macedon*.

(a) *Margita*.] *Homer* wrote a small Poem upon a very worthless Varlet of this Name: *Suidas* also mentions a young Fellow,

of the same Name, stupid beyond Belief. One would imagine that *Æschines* did not here endeavour so much to expose *Demosthenes*, as to defend *Alexander*.

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stir out of *Macedon*, but would, on the contrary, rest very well satisfied, provided he could but freely walk about in (a) *Pella*, and preserve his own Person: And all this, he took upon him to say, was not built upon Conjecture, but upon his own certain Knowledge, who, as he pretended, was truly sensible, 'that the Reputation of Bravery was never purchased but at the Expence of Blood;' He who has not not the least Drop of Blood in his own Veins; and who forms not a Judgment of *Alexander* from the Genius and Spirit of *Alexander*, but from his own cowardly Temper and Disposition. And when the *Thessalians* had resolved to make War upon your *Common-Wealth*, and that young Prince, being highly exasperated, began to express his Resentment, (and that with the greatest Reason), by laying Siege to *Thebes*; *Demosthenes*, being at that Juncture chosen Embassador to him, before he had gone half Way, his Heart failed him, and he ran back again from Mount (b) *Cithæron* to *Athens*; thus neither acquitting himself like a good Citizen in Peace, or in War. And yet, what is still more intolerable than all this, you would neither deliver up this Man into the Hands of Justice, nor suffer him to stand his Trial before the general Council of *Greece*; a Man, who, if any Credit may be given to Reports universally spread, has betrayed and undone you.

§1. For, as those People that inhabit the Sea-Coasts, and those who went in Quality of Embassadors to *Alexander*, report, (and it does not look like a groundless Report), there is a certain Person, called *Aristion*, a Native of (c) *Platæa*, and Son of *Aristobulus*, a Drug-

(a) *Pella*.] A City of *Macedon*, where *Alexander* the Great was born. *Strab. L. 7.*
 (c) *Platæa*.] A City of *Bæotia*, near the Confines of *Attica* and *Megaris*. *Thucyd. L. 2.*

gift, whom perhaps some of you may know; this young Man, being of a very fair and beautiful Complexion, formerly lived for a considerable Time in the Family of *Demosthenes*. What his Employment there was, whether Active or Passive is somewhat doubtful, nor can I with Decency make mention of it. But, whatever it was, this Youth, (as I am informed,) concealing his Descent and Course of Life, insinuated himself into the Favour of *Alexander*, and became one of his most intimate Companions. By him *Demosthenes* sent Letters to *Alexander*, fraught with the most base and servile Flattery, and he has effected a thorough Reconciliation betwixt them: So that, he is now no longer under any Dread or Apprehensions from that Quarter. That this is no Fiction, but perfectly agreeable to the guilty Conduct of *Demosthenes*, you may clearly see from the following Reasoning.

52. If *Demosthenes* had such Sentiments, as he now pretends, at that Conjuncture; if he, in reality, had been the mortal Foe of *Alexander*, as he would fain persuade us; he had three of the most favourable Opportunities imaginable put into his Hands, which he would never have let slip in the manner he did, without taking the least Advantage of them. The first was, when *Alexander*, scarce seated on his Throne, had left his Affairs in *Macedon* in a very unsettled Condition, and set out upon his *Asiatick* Expedition against the King of *Persia*, who had vast Treasures at his Command, and was then very formidable both by Sea and Land. At which Juncture, *Alexander* without Doubt, would have very gladly admitted you into the Number of his Confederates, in order to ward off the Dangers that threatened him with Ruin; but did you upon that Occasion, *Demosthenes*, either make an Oration, or propose even one Decree? Will you rather have me imagine, that you were struck with Terror, and followed the Bent of your own dastardly Dis-

Disposition ? That indeed, I will readily grant you: Though certainly, the critical Opportunities, upon which the Fate of a *Common-Wealth* depends, should not have been neglected, 'till all the Fears and Apprehensions of a cowardly Orator are vanished. But when *Darius* poured down his whole Army upon *Alexander*, and shut him up in the Streights of *Cilicia*, and, as you affirmed, reduced him to the last Extremity, insomuch, that he would quickly, (as your Expression was,) ' be trampled under Foot by the *Persian* Cavalry ;' then it was, that your Insolence grew to so great a height, that the People of *Athens* could no longer bear it, nor the baseness of those Letters which you publickly dispersed as you walked about the City, nor your pointing at, and shewing me to a certain Set of Men, as a Person, whose very Looks betrayed the greatest Despondency and Dejection, giving me the Nick-Name of (a) *Gold-Horn*, in Derision; and often opprobriously repeating in my own hearing, ' that I should be crowned like a Victim for Sacrifice, in case *Alexander* should happen to meet with any Misfortune. Upon this Occasion, I say, you remained entirely unactive, and deferred doing any thing for the Service of your Country, to, I know not, what more favourable Opportunity. But I shall pass every thing of this kind over in Silence, and apply myself to speak of the present State of Affairs. The *Lacedæmonians*, in conjunction with the foreign Forces, engaged, and entirely defeated such of the Enemies

(a) Gold-Horn, χρυσόκρην.] and sometimes his Horns were tipped with Gold. Perhaps the Prophet had this Custom in View, when he represents the thoughtless Sinner dressed out for Destruction, as an Ox going to the Slaughter. In this Sense the Passage before us is to be understood.

Troops as lay encamped (a) about *Corrhagon*, (b) the *Elæans*, together with all the *Achaïans*, except (c) the *Pelleneans*, and all (d) *Arcadia*, except (e) *Megalopolis*, (which was then so closely besieged, that in every one's Opinion, it would speedily be taken), revolted from the *Macedonians*, and took Part with the *Lacedæmonians*. *Alexander* was gone beyond the *North-Pole*, almost out of the habitable World; and *Antipater* spent a great deal of Time in levying and drawing together an Army; and the Issue of all, was as yet doubtful and uncertain. Now, do you shew us, *Demosthenes*, what Service you did the *Common-Wealth*, either by your Words or Actions upon this Conjuncture, and if you please, I will lend you the *Rostrum* 'till you have done.——But since you preserve so profound a Silence, and seem to be greatly embarrassed, I will excuse you, and will now myself inform you, O *Athenians*, how he expressed himself upon that Occasion.

53. Do you not remember how horridly grating and absurd his Expressions were at that Juncture, which

(a) *About Corrhagon.*] There has been no small Contention among Interpreters, about the Word, *Κόρραγος*, some taking it, as *Aretinus*, *Lambinus*, and *Meletius*, for the Name of a Man, and others, as *Wolfius*, *Perionius*, and *Meletus*, for the Name of a Place. *Ortelius* mentions *Corrhagon* among the Towns and Fortresses of *Macedon*, and cites not only our Orator, but *Livy*, in proof of it; who L. 31. says, *Apustius, extrema Macedoniæ populatus, Corrhago, et Gherusio, et Orgessio Castellis primo impetu captis, ad Antipatriam, in faucibus angustis sitam urbem, venit.* In which Sense, I have

translated it, the Word, *ἡρόλι*, greatly favouring it, if not determining the whole Matter.

(b) *The Elæans.*] *Elæa*, a Sea-Town in *Æolis*, belonging to the City of *Pegamus*. *Strab.* L. 13.

(c) *The Pellæneans.*] *Pellene* a City of *Achaia*, bordering on *Sicyonia* and *Pheneum*. *Paus.* in *Achaic*.

(d) *Arcadia.*] A Region in the midst of *Peloponnesus*, bounded with *Elis*, *Achaia*, *Argolica*, *Laconia*, and *Messenia*. *Strab.* L. 8.

(e) *Megalopolis.*] A City of *Arcadia*, on the River *Helissus*. *Paus.* in *Arcad*.

yet, you, O *Athenians*, whose Hearts are as hard as Steel, had patience enough to hear? Do you not I say, remember, how he cryed out from the *Rostrum*, ‘ a certain set of Men are pruning Athens, as if it were a Vine; some are lopping off the Branches of the People; the Nerves of our Affairs are cut asunder: we are sown up straitly as if in Bags; some People run through us, as if we were the Eyes of Needles;’ What? detestable Brute! do you offer these (a) as Words, or Prodigies? Then again (b) writhing and twisting your self about in the *Rostrum*, you declared your self thus, as if you were in reality the mortal Foe of *Alexander*, (‘ I own I was the Person that prevailed upon the *Lacedæmonians* to take up Arms against him; I own I induced the *Thessalians* and (c) *Perhæbians* to revolt from him). What? Had you an Interest sufficient to excite so much as a single Village to desert him? Had you the Courage to enter, I will not say a City, but even an House, where there was the least appearance of Danger? No, you had not: Though it must be confessed indeed, that wherever there is a Prospect of procuring Riches, there will you readily appear; but no great nor generous Action are you capable of performing. And yet, whensoever Fortune happens to crown any of our Undertakings with Success, you immediately assume to yourself the Merit, and pretend to be the Author of it; whereas on the other Hand, when we see the least glimpse of an approaching Danger, you cowardly desert us, and run away. But as soon as we are confident, that we are safe, then will

(a) *As Words or Prodigies.*] *Demosthenes*, that Action was the most material Ornament in Oratory. *Actio, actio, actio.*
 Indeed they are such an unnatural Set of *Metonymies*, as they are here ranged, that they are all *Scythian*. and have nothing of the *Attick* Taste, either in Words or Sentiments.
 (c) *Perhæbians.*] A People of *Thessaly*, that inhabit the Mountainous Country about *Olympus*, from the City *Atrax*, as far as to *Tempe*, and the City *Gyrton*. *Stra. L. 9.*
 (b) *Writhing and twisting,* &c.] It was the Opinion of

you

you imperiously demand Rewards, and claim the Honour of being crowned with Crowns of Gold.

54. Well; but, will some one perhaps say, he is a great Lover of the Republican Form of Government. Why, truly, if you regard his specious Discourses only, he will now again, as he did heretofore, impose greatly upon you. But, if you will consider the natural Disposition of the Man, and make a narrow Search into the Truth of Things, you can by no means be deceived. Examine him then, by this Test; and I will lay before you the essential Qualities, that enter into the Composition of a wise and good Republican; and then, on the other Hand, what the Ingredients are, of which that wicked Wretch is made, who is passionately fond of Oligarchy. Do you nicely weigh the Comparison of the one with the other, and consider, which of these two Characters is most applicable to *Demosthenes*; but frame your Judgment, not from their Speeches, but from the Tenor of their Lives and Actions.

55. I apprehend then, you will all unanimously confess (a) that a true Republican ought to be endowed with the following Qualifications. First, that he be descended of a Free-born Family, not only on his

(a) *That a true Republican,* [treated at this rate, few would be left on the Benches. Virtue in *Æschines's* Description here of the perfect Man in the Description carries a high Price; different Forms of Government, is answered in a compendious, genteel manner thus, by *Demosthenes*. A Person agrees for a Statue, with such Features, and in such an Attitude. The Statuary performs well, but does not exactly hit the Draught in every Thing. For this he leaves it on his Hands, to make the best of it. But were the Senators to be

but then, we look at it, at the proper Distance of a Picture; but draw it to the Life in human Nature, and take a close View of it, and you must then make great Abatements for the coarseness of the Canvas. No Man is better than he should be, and very few as good as they might be.

Father's, but also on his Mother's Side, lest the Misfortune and Disgrace of his Birth and Parentage should weaken his regard to those just and honourable Laws which are the Support and Defence of a *Democratical* Constitution. Secondly, that his Ancestors ought to have been, in some respect or other, Benefactors to the Publick, or at least not avowed Enemies of the Constitution, lest if the latter should be his Case, he should in order to obliterate the Infamy, or avenge the Injuries done to his Forefathers, attempt the Overthrow of the Commonwealth. *Thirdly*, he ought to be naturally a Person of the most exact Temperance, and Frugality in his Way of Living, lest he should, in order to support his Luxury and Extravagance, be induced to take Bribes to the Detriment of his Country. *Fourthly*, He ought to be a Man of great Probity, as well as a powerful Speaker; for it is a great Felicity not only to be possessed of Wisdom and Resolution, sufficient to discern and pursue the best of Counsels, but also of a Talent in Oratory to lead away his Audience in soft Captivity wherever he pleases. But, if both these cannot be found united in the same Person, then Probity should doubtless be ever preferred to the most noble and exalted Strains of Eloquence. And in the fifth and last Place, he ought to be a Man of Courage and Magnanimity, to the End, that he may always stedfastly adhere to the Interests of the People, and never desert them in the Time of War, or when surrounded with Difficulties and Dangers. Now, as to the Man, who is fond of Oligarchy, since you know his Character to be exactly the Reverse of this in every Particular, what Need I any further expatiate upon it?

§6. Now then, do you consider how many of these Qualities *Demosthenes* possesses; and make a just Estimate of all the Merits and Circumstances of his Case. He had to his Father *Demosthenes* the *Pæanean*; a Man,
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I must own, free-born; but, give me leave to inform you, how the Case stands as to his Mother's Side, and with regard to his Grand-father by the Mother. There was a certain Person, whose Name was *Gylon*, a Native of (a) *Ceramea*, who, having betrayed into the Enemies Hands a Town in *Pontus*, called (b) *Nymphæum*, (at that Time part of the Dominions of this Republick), fled the City to escape his Trial, being sensible, that for such Treachery, he should not fail of being condemned to suffer Death. This Man, it seems, coming to *Bosphorus*, and having there procured a Grant from the Tyrants, of the Lands, called, *The Gardens*, as a Reward for his Perfidy, married a Woman there, who was very rich, and brought him indeed a considerable Fortune, but was herself of *Scythian* Extraction. By this Woman he had two Daughters, whom he sent to *Athens* with large Portions, and married one of them to a (c) certain Person, who shall be nameless; (for I would not willingly exasperate many People against me); and the other, *Demosthenes* the *Pæanean* espoused, in Contempt of the Laws and Constitutions of his Country; and of Her this (d) busy, this troublesome Sycophant *Demosthenes*

(a) *Ceramea*] A Borough of *Attica*. *Steph. Byz.*

(b) *Nymphæum*] A Castle in *Pontus*, *Suid.* from which the *Athenians* received the yearly Tribute of a Talent. *Strabo*, L. 7. says it was a Promontory of Mount *Athos*, towards the Bay of *Singus*.

(c) To a certain Person,] Nameless, *Demochares*.

(d) This busy, this troublesome Sycophant, &c.] Among the great Perfections of our two mighty Chiefs in Oratory, it is a melancholly Reflection to think, how they pelt one another with

hard Words. This is a sad Demonstration of the Strength of Revenge, and the Weakness of human Nature. This furious Passion ruffles the richest Treasures of Eloquence, and breaks through the strongest Guards of Philosophy. It is only the *Patientia Christiana*, in the Phrase of *Lipsius*, that is a Match for it. Traytor, Sycophant, Villain, are bandied between them without Ceremony; and though the Charge is personal against *Æschines*, against *Demosthenes* it is only derivative. But certainly, nothing is more unjust than to make

mosthenes was born. It is therefore plain, that by his Grandfather of the Mother's Side, he must be an Enemy to this République, in regard you passed Sentence of Death upon his Ancestors; and that, on his Mother's Side he is a *Scythian*, a *Barbarian*, and one, who has only the Language of a *Greek*, and therefore commits Crimes so nefarious, that an original Native of *Athens* is by no Means capable of them.

57. In the next Place, as to his ordinary Method and Course of Living, What is it? Why; from being a Trierarch, after he had in the most ridiculous Manner, squander'd away his paternal Estate, he commenced a Conveyancer; but finding himself suspected and noted for unfair Practice, for betraying his Clients, and taking Fees from both Sides; he flew to the *Rostrum*, receives vast Sums of the publick Money, spends it all to a Trifle, and has now nothing left but his Pension from the King of *Persia*, to support his Extravagance; nor is that sufficient, in regard the greatest Treasures can never satisfy the boundless Cravings of a depraved Appetite. In short, he lives not upon any private Revenue or Fortune of his own, but by the publick Dangers and Distresses of his Country. Then, how stands his Character with regard to Probity, and Skill in Oratory? Why; he is, no doubt, famed in Eloquence, infamous in Life. He is guilty of such lewd and lascivious Practices, that I am perfectly ashamed to mention the Particu-

make the Infamy of a Parent as hereditary as his Diseases; or to assert, that Vice is a complexional Infirmity twisted with the *Stamina Vitæ*. This has been looked upon to be one of the Defects of these Orators. But the Beauty and Magnificence of some few Paragraphs in them is sufficient to atone for all their

Defects. Nay, says *Longinus*,
 " If any one should collect from
 " these, and the other celebra-
 " ted Authors of Antiquity, the
 " little Errors that have escaped
 " them, they would not bear
 " the least Proportion to the in-
 " finite Beauties to be met with
 " in every Page of their Wri-
 " tings.

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lars ;

lars ; having ever observed, that those who made too free in proclaiming the Infamy and Baseness of their Neighbours, generally drew upon themselves the Odium and Dislike of all. But, what Service, I pray, has his Eloquence done for the Commonwealth ? Why ; he has entertained you, indeed, with fair, flattering, and delusive Speeches ; but at the same Time ruined you by base and treacherous Actions.

§8. It now remains, that I speak a few Words concerning his Courage and Bravery ; and indeed, did he deny himself to be a Coward, or did you not know him to be so yourselves, I should be obliged to dwell the longer upon this Article. But, since he himself confesses it in the publick Assemblies, and since you are fully sensible of the Truth of it, I have nothing more to do, than to put you in Mind, how the Law stands in this Point. *Solon*, that ancient Legislator, equally subjected him that declined the Military Service, the Person who abandoned his Rank in Battle, and the Coward, to the same Penalties and Punishments. For there are Indictments for Cowardice preferred : And though some among you may perhaps think it strange that there should be any Indictments for natural Defects ; yet certain it is, that such there are ; And what Reason may be assigned for it ? Why ; That every Citizen being more afraid of the Punishment which the Law ordains, than of the publick Enemy, may therefore upon every Occasion prove the braver Champion in his Country's Cause. And for this Reason also it is, that the Legislator expressly forbids him that declines the military Service, the Coward, and him that abandons his Rank in Battle, to (a) be purified with the sacred Water, to appear in the

(a) To be purified with the sacred Water] *παισιν* *παισιν*, was | a large Vessel of Water, placed at the Door of the Temple, where all

the *Forum*, to be honoured with a Crown, or to enter into the publick Temples: But you, *Ctesiphon*, command us to honour a Man with a Crown, who, in exprefs Terms, is forbidden by our Laws to be crowned. A Man, whom yet, by your Decree, you call into the Theatre, while the Tragedies are acting, in the very Temple of *Bacchus*; a base Wretch, who by his Cowardice, betrayed the Cause of the Gods, and of their Temples. But, not to bewilder you in a Digression foreign to my Subject; remember, O *Athenians*, remember, when *Demosthenes* calls himself a Lover of his Country, and of the popular Form of Government, not to regard his Words, but his Life and Actions; and not to consider his own Character of himself, but what he really deserves.

59. And now, since I have happened, in the Course of this Accusation, to make mention of Crowns and Rewards; while it is yet fresh in my Memory, give me Leave to foretel you, O Men of *Athens*, that if you do not put an End to this Abuse of promiscuously bestowing so many Crowns and Rewards, neither will those whom you honour with them, return you any Thanks for your Favours, nor will any Advantage accrue to the Publick from them; in regard, you can never make bad Citizens one Tittle the better by such Rewards; whereas you will, on the other Hand, discourage and sink the Good and Virtuous into the deepest Despair. That this is a just Observation, I think I can make appear by invincible Arguments. If one should ask you the Question, whether you imagine this Republick makes a more flourishing and glorious Figure at this Day than it did

all that entered were to perform the Ablution. The Manner of consecrating it, was, by putting a lighted Torch in it from the Altar. With this the Priest after-ward sprinkled those that went into the Temple; and this seems not unlike the Usage of the Roman Catholicks at this Day.

in the Times of our Forefathers? You will all readily confels; In the Times of our Forefathers. Or should you be asked, Whether Mankind were better in ancient Times, than in the present? You would all answer, That formerly there were many Men eminent for their publick Spirit, but that now there is an universal Degeneracy and scandalous Defection from it. Or should one desire to know, whether Rewards, and Crowns, and Proclamations, and (a) constant Allowances in the *Prytanæum*, were then more frequent than now? You would all reply, That such distinguishing Honours were then very rare and valuable, and the Reputation of Virtue very dear and precious; whereas, on the contrary, they are now become cheap, and trodden under Foot: For, you are, at this Day, so far from bestowing Crowns with Discretion, and according to Merit, that you do it only for Fashion-sake, and in order to keep up an ancient Custom.

60. But would it not be very absurd to reason thus from this Practice. “ The Number of Rewards is
“ in these Days much augmented, and yet the Affairs
“ of the Commonwealth were much more flourish-
“ ing in former Times. The present Age produces
“ no other than a degenerate Race of Men, but Ages
“ past were adorned with generous Patriots and sincere
“ Lovers of their Country”. The Reason of which Prodigy I will endeavour to discover and lay before you. Can you imagine, O *Athenians*, that any one would ever be at the Pains to prepare himself for the (b) *Panathenæa*,

(a) *And constant Allowances,* &c.] All Persons who had signalized themselves in the Service of the Commonwealth, had certain Allowances given them in the *Prytanæum* for their Support, at the Expence of the Publick: And this was the greatest Honour

that could be conferred on any Citizen, in Recompence of all his Services.

(b) *The Panathenæa*] This was a Festival in Honour of *Minerva*, the Protectress of *Athens*, first instituted by *Erethonius*, or *Orpheus*, and called *Agathæa*, but afterwards

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panathenaea, or for any other Sports or Games wherein a Crown is the Prize to be contended for; or for the (a) *Pancratium*; or any other of those Exercises that are attended with great Fatigue and Toil; If the Crown were not to be adjudged and given to the bravest Contender, but to one that sought it by some Artifice or ungenerous Practice? No certainly. No Man would ever be at the Pains. Now, in my Opinion, were the Reward of Victory, rare, valuable, attended with Honour, and sufficient to transmit the Conqueror's Memory to future Ages; we should then never want numbers of Men who would constantly expose their Persons to the greatest Dangers, and readily undergo the severest Toils and Hardships, in the Acquisition of it. Do you then imagine your selves to be Arbiters and Judges of the Merits of those Citizens, who contend for the Prize in civil Virtue; and consider, that if you confer your Rewards upon a few only, upon the most worthy, and according to your Laws, you will always have great numbers of Competitors for Virtue and Glory; but if, on the contrary, you bestow them promiscuously upon every one that demands them, and gratify every intriguing and ambitious Person, you will certainly corrupt even the most modest and virtuous Candidates.

61. The Truth of what I am saying, I will endeavour to make appear to you with greater Evidence

afterwards renewed and amplified by *Theseus*, in Memory of the happy Union of all the Inhabitants of *Attica*, into one Commonwealth at *Athens*, and therefore called, *Panathenaea*. On this Festival, there was a Race with Torches, wherein first, Footmen, and afterwards, Horsemen, contended. The second Contention was *βυρδισίας ἀγών*, i. e. a Gymnical Exercise, so called, because the Combatants therein gave a Proof of their *Strength* and *Manhood*: And the last was a Musical Contention, first instituted by *Pericles*. (a) Or for the *Pancratium*] In this Exercise the Combatants both wrestled and boxed, threw each other on the Ground, and took all Manner of Advantages.

from this Consideration. Whether do you look upon *Themistocles* your Admiral, when you conquered the *Persians* in the Sea-Fight at *Salamis*, or *Demosthenes* who abandoned his Post in Battle, to be the braver Man? *Miltiades*, who routed the *Barbarians* in the Battle of (a) *Marathon*, or *Demosthenes*? Or those famous Generals who brought back the exiled People from (b) *Phile*, and restored them to their Country, or *Demosthenes*? Or do you think him preferable to (c) *Aristides*, surnamed *The Just*, a Sir-name quite the Reverse of what *Demosthenes* bears? But, for my Part, by all the Gods, I cannot help thinking it highly indecent and improper to mention the Name of this Brute at the same Time with those gallant Heroes. Let *Demosthenes* then shew in his Defence, where it was ever decreed, that any of those brave Men should be honoured with a Crown. Were the People of *Athens* therefore ungrateful to them? No. They were a generous and gallant Race of Men. And though these illustrious Persons had not this Honour conferred upon them, yet they always behaved themselves as became the true Sons of such a Republick. For, they were not of Opinion, that their glorious Actions should be preserved in Decrees and Records, but rather in the Memories of those Citizens on whom they had conferred their Favours; nor indeed were they mistaken; for the Memory of them has, from

(a) *Marathon*.] A Town in *Attica*, over against *Eretria* in *Eubœa*. *Herod. L. 6.*

(b) *Phile*.] A Town of *Attica*, bordering on *Tanagra* of *Boeotia*. *Strab. L. 9.*

(c) *Aristides*, surnamed *The Just*, &c. *Demosthenes* was nicknamed *Battalus*, which was probably the Sir-name the Orator would in this Passage oppose to that of *Aristides*. *Aristides* from

the lowest Birth, was, for his inflexible Probity, raised to the Station of *Archon*. Yet in the midst of his just Character, he broke the League, which, in the Name of the *Athenians*, he had sworn to with *Xerxes*, and publicly desired, that the whole *Persian* might be laid at his Door. So much stronger are Reasons of State, than Reasons of Justice.

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that Age to this, been faithfully preserved, and will be transmitted with Applause to all succeeding Generations.

62. Now it will not be improper to mention here the Nature of those Rewards which were bestowed upon them. In those Times, there were some gallant Citizens, who, after serving many tedious and dangerous *Campaigns*, at last gained an absolute Victory over the *Medes*, in a Battle fought on the Banks of the River (d) *Strymon*. These brave Warriours therefore, upon their return to *Athens*, demanded a Reward from the People worthy such glorious Services. Accordingly the People heaped great Honours upon them, agreeably to the Notion of Honour which then prevailed, namely, ' They permitted three (e) Stone Statues to ' be erected in Honour of them in the *Portico* of Statues; but at the same time strictly enjoined them, not to inscribe their own Names upon them, to the End, that the Inscription should be understood not to be in honour of the Generals, but of the People. The Truth of what I am saying, you may learn from the Verses themselves.

The Inscription upon the first Statue runs thus.

*Intrepid Souls! these stain'd with Median Bloud
The Banks, where Strymon rolls his rapid Floud,
Whilst Sword and Famine waste the hostile Soil,
They freed their Country, by this glorious Toil.*

(a) *Strymon*.] A River dividing Thrace from Macedon. *Thucyd.* L. 2. *cury*, that stood on square Pedestals, on which the Names of such as deserved well of the Publick, were inscribed.

(b) *Three Stone Statues, &c.*] These were little Figures of Mer-

On the Second.

*Thus Athens crown'd her Chiefs, in former Days;
 Conquest and Virtue never fail'd of Praise;
 Such Patterns, future Ages must admire,
 And such, with publick Spirit all inspire.*

On the Third.

*Mnestheus, who with th' Atridæ, gain'd Renown,
 Leading our Troops, to Ilium's sacred Town,
 Is crown'd by Homer, with immortal Fame;
 In the first Roll, he registers his Name.
 Thus may all Greece, Athenians, talk of you,
 They lead in Virtue, and in Battle too.*

Are the Names of the Generals any where mentioned in these Inscriptions? No, but the People's only. Accompany me then in your Imagination, to the *Portico*, called (a) *Pæcile*; for you have the Monuments of all great and glorious Actions deposited, and faithfully preserved in the *Forum*. But what, O *Athenians*, is the Design of all that I am saying? Why, here, I say, the Battle of *Marathon* is painted and described. But, who was then your General? Not a Man among

(a) *Pæcile*.] *Παῖκιον*. A Porticoe, so called from the great Variety of Paintings by the best Hands of Greece. The Places most frequented at *Athens*, were open at the Top, as the *Areopagus*, *Heliæum*, *Phyx*, &c. Many were the Porticoes of *Athens*, built as well for Shelter, as De-

light and Ornament, but the most remarkable was the *Pæcile*. This was the famous *Stoa* where *Zeno* taught, the Founder of the Sect of the *Stoicks*. I think the chief Place for the Statues was the *Forum*, and for the Paintings, the Porticoes.

you,

you, if asked the Question, but would immediately reply, *Miltiades* : And yet his Name is not there to be found. How did that happen ? (a) Did he not request this Reward from the People ? He did indeed earnestly request it ; but the People refused to grant it. For, instead of permitting his Name to be inscribed, they vouchsafed only, that he should be painted at the Head of his Army, haranguing and encouraging his Soldiers to the Battle. You may likewise see in the (b) *Metrons* near the Senate-House, what the Reward was, which you conferred upon those illustrious Persons, who (c) brought back the Exiles from *Phyle*. The Person that preferred the Decree on that Occasion, was *Archinus*, a Native of (d) *Cælea*, who obtained the Victory, and was one of those that highly contributed to restore the People to their native Country. In the Beginning of which Decree, he ordered, that a thousand Drachms should be distributed amongst them, in order to provide Sacrifices, and hang up votive Offerings in the Temples of the Gods, which Sum does not amount to ten Drachms a Man. Then he inserted a Clause therein, enjoyning each of them to be honoured with a Crown of Olive, and not with a Crown of Gold. For, in those Times, a Crown of Olive was deemed both honourable and

(a) *Did he not request this Reward, &c.*] *Plutarch* tells us, that when *Miltiades* asked only a Crown of Olive, one *Sochares* answered him thus, ' When you can conquer alone, you shall triumph so too.' The Olive Crown was honoured, because *Minerva* is said to have produced the Olive.

(b) *The Metrons.*] This Temple took its Name from its Dedication to the Mother of the Gods, *Cybele*.

(c) *Who brought back the*

Exiles, &c.] These Exiles were about seventy *Athenians*, that fled from the Cruelty of the thirty Tyrants to *Thebes*. They seized upon the strong Castle of *Phyle* in the Territory of the *Athenians*, and increasing in Strength, drove the Tyrants out at last, under the Conduct of *Thrasybulus*: for which glorious Service they were greatly honoured and esteemed by the People of *Athens*.

(d) *Cælea.*] A Borough of *Attica*. *Hofm.* in *Lex. Univ.*

pre-

precious; whereas a Crown of Gold, in the present, is contemned and despised. Nor does the Author of this Decree order even this to be bestowed to every one without Distinction, but upon such only, as the Senate, upon a strict Inquiry, should find to have been in the Number of those who bravely repelled the Assaults of the *Lacedæmonians*, and the thirty Tyrants, when closely besieged and shut up in *Phyle*; but not upon such, as abandoned their Posts in the Battle of *Chæronea*, upon the approach of their Enemies. In proof of which Assertions, let the Decree it self be read.

The Decree of Archinus concerning the Rewards given to those who brought back the People from Phyle to Athens.

Now likewise read, on the other Hand, the Decree, which *Ctesiphon* preferred in Praise of *Demosthenes*, the sole Author of all our Miseries and Misfortunes.

The D E C R E E.

You see plainly, how the Reward of those illustrious Persons, who restored the People to their Country, is entirely left out of this Decree: And therefore if this be a fair and equitable Decree, then, that must, of course, have been base and highly dishonourable; but if they had Rewards bestowed upon them in proportion to their Deserts, then *Demosthenes* can never be deemed worthy the Honour of a Crown.

63. But, as I am informed, he designs to object, that it is by no means just in me to compare the glorious Actions performed by our Progenitors, with his.

For,

For, says he, (a) *Philamon* the Wrestler was not honoured with a Crown at the *Olympick* Games, meerly because he vanquished *Glaucus* that celebrated Wrestler of Antiquity, but because he conquered all the Wrestlers of his own Times. As if truly, we were not sensible, that the Contest betwixt Wrestlers ought to be confined to themselves alone; whereas the Contest betwixt those who aspire to be crowned, extends to Virtue in general, which alone can give them a just Title to that Honour: For it is incumbent on the Crier to speak the naked Truth, whensoever he makes a Proclamation in the *Theatre* in the Presence of all the *Greeks*. It is not your Business then to shew us, that your Administration of the publick Affairs was preferable to (b) *Patæcion's*, but demonstrate to us, that your Conduct justly entitles you to the *Character* of the Virtuous and the Brave, and then demand your Recompence from the People. But not to digress too far from the Subject in Hand. The Notary shall read the *Inscription* made in honour of those Warriours who brought back the People from *Phyle*, and restored them to their Native Country.

The INSCRIPTION.

These Chiefs old Athens crown'd in Virtue's Cause ;
They drove out Tyrants trampling on the Laws,
And ventur'd Life to gain this just Applause. }

(a) *Philamon.*) A famous Wrestler, who was honoured with a Statue. The *Athenians* encouraged every Man, that was extraordinary in his Way, and transmitted his Name, with Honour to Posterity.

(b) *Patæcion.*) In *Suidas's* Account, was a Fellow that got his Livelyhood, partly by informing against young Gentlemen, and partly by Robbing, and House-breaking.

Here,

Here, says the *Poet*, they were justly crowned with Honours, because they utterly destroyed those Tyrants who usurped an arbitrary Power, contrary to the established Laws of their Country. For, even in that Age of the World, every one cryed out, that the *Democratical* Form of Government was in danger of being destroyed, whensoever they saw any Set of Men endeavouring to obstruct or render Accusations preferred for illegal Proceedings, useless and vain.

64. I have often heard my Father tell, (who lived to the Age of Ninety Five, and shared in all the Toils and Troubles of the *Common-Wealth*, with a long Account of which he used frequently to entertain me in his Hours of Leisure :) Often, I say, have I heard him tell, that, immediately upon the Restoration of the People to their Rights and Liberties, if any Man brought an Accusation against another into the Courts of Justice for infringing the Laws of the Republick, the Judges not only expressed their Abhorrence of the *Crime*, but of the very Name of the Person that was accused of it. For, what can be more wicked and detestable than that Man, who, not only by his Words, but by his Actions, transgresses the fundamental Laws of his *Country*? Nor did the Judges of those Times, (as he informed me,) try any *Cause* in such a careless and perfunctory Manner, as they do at present; but were, on the contrary, more attentive to it, and expressed greater Indignation and Resentment against the Authors of unlawful Decrees, than the very Person himself who accused them. They often interrupted the Notary, and ordered him to read over the Laws again, and carefully compare the Decree with them. And in a Word, they not only condemned those, who, in preferring their Decrees, leaped over the Boundaries of all the Laws, but even if they happened to deviate one Syllable from them. Whereas the Practice that now prevails, is highly ridiculous and absurd. For, while

while the Notary is reading the Decree preferred in contempt of our Laws, the Judges listen to it with no more Attention than if it were a Song, or some other Matter that did in no sort concern them, and all the while employ their Thoughts upon something foreign to the Cause in hand. Besides, another base Custom has crept into our Courts of Justice by the artful Management of *Demosthenes*, by which the Laws and Institutions of our Republick are quite perverted and altered; namely, that the Accuser himself must now truly make his own Defence, whilst the Person against whom the Accusation is preferred, becomes the Prosecutor. Hence it comes to pass, that the Judges sometimes entirely forget the Points of which they are to judge, and at others, are under a Necessity of pronouncing Sentence upon such Matters, as lie no way before them. Moreover, the Person indicted, makes his Defence after this manner, (if by chance he touches upon the chief Point in Debate at all); he denies not, that he preferred Decrees contrary to the established Laws, but argues, that such, or such Persons had preferred the like before him, and yet were publickly acquitted by you. And this I am informed is the Argument which *Ctesiphon* exults in, and on which in this Contest he chiefly relies.

65. (a) *Aristophon* the (b) *Azenian* had formerly the Impudence to boast in your presence, that he had seventy five Indictments for illegal Decrees preferred against him, and yet was acquitted of them all. But *Cephalus*, that worthy old Citizen, who was always reputed to have been entirely devoted to the Interest and Service

(n) *Aristophon*, &c.] The characters of *Aristophon* and *Cephalus* are a lively Representation of such as break the Law under their own Protection, and of the Few that always live within the sacred Enclosure, that is the common Guardian of our Liberties.

(b) *The Azenian*.] *Azenia*, a Borough in *Attica*, *Steph. Byz.*

of

of the *Common-Wealth*, behaved not in that manner, but gloried in the very Reverse of it. He said, that he had preferred a greater number of Decrees, than any other of his Cotemporaries; and yet was never indicted for one that infringed the Laws of his Country. In my Opinion, a very just and laudable Cause of boasting this. For, in those Times, not only they who espoused different Parties in the *Common-Wealth*; but even the dearest Friends, frequently preferred Accusations for illegal Proceedings against each other, when they apprehended the Interest and Good of the Publick to be in danger. Of this I shall give you the following memorable *Instance*. *Archinus*, a Native of *Cælea*, indicted *Thrasibulus* the (a) *Styræan*, for preferring a Decree contrary to our established Laws, wherein he ordained a certain Person amongst those who returned with him from *Phyle*, to be honoured with a Crown; and for this he was actually condemned by the Judges. Nor had the good Services which he so lately had done the Publick any Influence at all upon them. For, they imagined, that as *Thrasibulus* had formerly brought them Home out of Banishment from *Phyle*; so now he would expel and drive them out of their fixed Abodes and native Country, when they saw him presume to prefer a Decree in direct violation of their fundamental Laws.

66. But that good old Custom is entirely abolished, and one quite the reverse does now prevail, in the room of it. For, your worthy Generals, nay, even some of those who are supported at the publick Expence in the *Prytanæum*, strongly solicit you not to prosecute Persons that are indicted for preferring Decrees against the established Laws: 'Tho' certainly you cannot forbear thinking such Intercessors to be guilty

(a) *The Styrean.*] *Styrea*, *Aristus*. *Stra. L. 10.*
City in *Eubæa*, near the City *Ca-*

of the highest Ingratitude towards you. For, if any Person that has Honours bestowed upon him under a democratical form of Government, (especially in this *Common-Wealth* of ours which owes its Preservation to the Gods, and to the Laws), shall presume to lend any Assistance to such as prefer Decrees contrary to its Laws, subverts that very Government, which conferred these Honours upon him; what Method then can a wise, just, and moderate Man take in order to become a fair Mediatour in this Case? I will inform you, O *Athenians*. The Day on which any Man is tried in the publick Court for preferring Decrees in violation of our Laws, is divided into three Parts. The (a) first *Hour-glass* runs for the Prosecutor, for the Laws, and for the *Common-Wealth*: The second for the Party indicted, and for his Advocates, to make his Defence; but if he be not acquitted of preferring an illegal Decree by your (b) first Suffrages; then the third *Hour-glass* is allowed you to consider, what Fine is reasonable to be laid, and what Punishment to be inflicted on him, commensurable to your Resentments. Whoever therefore, upon your Proceeding to adjust the Fine,

(a) *The first Hour-glass, &c.*] *Strauchius* from *Pancirollus* gives us the following accurate Description of the *Clepsydra* of the Ancients. 'They took, says he, a Vessel made of a Glass, in the Bottom of which was a narrow Hole done about with Gold, lest the Water should wear it away. On the other Part of the Vessel was drawn a right Line, having the twelve Hours set upon it. This Vessel they filled with Water, which issued Drop by Drop out of the little Hole. In the Water there was a Cork with a little Pin stuck into it, and the

' Point of that Pin turned to the first Hour, while the Glass was full, and to the other Hours in proportion to the gradual decrease of the Water.' This by a *Greek* Derivation was called a *Clepsydra*, and with us an *Hour-glass*.

(b) *By your first Suffrages, &c.*] The *Athenian* Judges were by the Laws obliged to pronounce two Sentences in all criminal Causes. After they had first examined and sifted the Matter brought before them to the Bottom, they pronounced the accused Person, *Guilty*, or *not Guilty*. And then in the second Place,

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desires you to pronounce your Sentence, evidently endeavours only to soften and appease your Re-
sentments; but he that desires you to acquit him
upon the first Part of the Hearing; He, I say, let
him be who he will, desires you to violate your Oath,
to violate the Law, and to subvert the Liberties of
the People: Things, which it is impious for any Man
so much as to desire, but much more so, when desired,
for any one to grant. Command these Intercessors
therefore who would have you pronounce Sentence
so early, to be silent, and permit you to give your first
Judgment according to your Laws; and let them in-
terpose afterwards, if they shall think proper, when
you proceed to adjust and lay on the Fine.

67. For my Part, O Men of *Athens*, I must con-
fess, that I was upon the Point of delivering it as my
Opinion, that a Law ought to be passed, strictly en-
joyning, that no Advocate should be allowed either
the Prosecutor or the Defendant, upon any Indictments
preferred for Decrees infringing our fundamental Laws:
Because Right and Justice are not fluctuating and un-
determined, but, on the contrary, are fixed and as-
certained by your Laws themselves. For, as in Ar-
chitecture we apply a Rule in order to discern the
strait from the crooked, so in Indictments for Decrees
preferred against our Laws, we have the infallible

they condemned him to suffer
such Punishment as to them seem-
ed adequate to his Crime. But, if
the Cause was not capital, then
the Person accused, if pronounced
guilty by the Majority, was him-
self obliged to determine the
Punishment he should undergo,
in proportion to the Nature of
his Offence; which Punishment

the Judges altered, in case they
approved not of it. That this
was the Practice at *Athens*, ap-
pears from the Case of *Socrates*,
as mentioned by *Plato* (in *Crit*);
from *Cicero* (in *L. 1. de Orat*);
from *Aristophanes*; and from
Terence (in *Ana*); as well as
from the Passage before us.

Rule

Rule of Justice to guide and direct us. This Indictment in my Hand, the Decree, and the standing Laws of the *Common-Wealth*, which you, *Ctesiphon*, have transgressed, these if you can make agree and reconcile with each other, you may then indeed very freely descend from the *Rostrum*. This if you can do, what need have you to implore the Assistance of *Demosthenes*? But if you refuse to make your Defence in this fair and equitable Manner, and call to your Aid not only a dangerous wicked Man, but one very well skilled in all the deceitful Arts of Rhetorick, it is evident, that you do it with no other View than to impose upon the Auditory, to injure and distress the State, and overturn the Liberties of your Country.

68. But how shall we manage Matters so, as to obstruct his making use of that artful method of Defence? I will inform you. When *Ctesiphon* arises, and repeats an Exordium prepared for him on purpose by *Demosthenes*, and dwells long upon it, without proceeding to make a just and legal Defence, do you advise him to take this Tablet, and to compare his Decree, without any Noise, or Emotion of Mind, with our standing Laws. But if he pretends to be deaf upon this Occasion, then do you no longer vouchsafe to grant him your Attention. For, you did not come here to hearken to the frivolous Excuses, and artful Apologies, which accused Persons usually make, but to hear what they have material or legal to offer in their Defence. But, if instead of making a just or legal Defence for himself, he calls *Demosthenes* to his Assistance, then take particular Care, not to suffer that subtle *Sophister*, who thinks to prevail against the Laws, by the sole Power of his Words, to plead for him. Nor let any one amongst you imagine, it will redound to his Credit and Reputation, when *Ctesiphon* asks, whether he shall call *Demosthenes* to his Defence, to be the first that cries out, *Call him, Call him*. For, it is a-

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gainst yourselves you call him ; it is against the Laws you call him ; and against the Liberty of your Country that you call him.

69. But, if you shall think it proper, notwithstanding all this, to hear *Demosthenes* upon this Occasion, order him to make his Defence after the same Manner, and in the same Method that I have taken in the Accusation, which, permit me to recapitulate, in order to refresh your Memories. I have neither laid open the private Life of *Demosthenes* in the Beginning of my Accusation, nor have I expatiated on his Offences against the Publick, though I might have been very copious and diffusive on that Head, (or I must have been the most stupid Wretch in the World) ; But, in the first Place, I produced the Laws that expressly prohibit any Person whatsoever that stands accountable to the Publick, to be honoured with a Crown ; and then made it evident, that *Ctesiphon* the Orator had preferred a Decree to present *Demosthenes* with a Crown, while he actually stood accountable, and that, absolutely and without inserting this saving Clause, (after he shall have given up his Accounts), in direct and manifest Contempt both of your Authority, and of the fundamental Laws. After which, I opened and refuted the subtle Arguments and Excuses, by which they would pretend to evade the Articles of this Charge, of which I must entreat you to be particularly mindful. In the next Place, I laid before you the Laws relating to Proclamations, which, in express Terms forbid a Crown bestowed by the People to be proclaimed in any other Place besides that in which they hold their Assembly. But the Orator who stands indicted, has not only notoriously transgressed the Laws, in decreeing a Crown for *Demosthenes*, but has also changed both the Time and Place appointed by them for making the Proclamation ; commanding it to be made, not in the Assembly, but in the Theatre ; not when

when the *Athenians* are all convened together, but when the Tragedians are about to act their Plays. After I had gone through this Article, I proceeded to speak a few Words concerning his private Vices; but the greatest Part of my Discourse was employed in the Relation of the Injuries and Crimes which he has committed against the Publick.

70. Do you therefore insist, that *Demosthenes* pursue the same Manner and Method in his Defence: namely, that in the first Place, he reply to the Arguments drawn from the Law concerning those who are obliged to pass their Accounts with the Publick: In the Second, to the Law relating to the Proclamations: And Thirdly, to that Article, upon which I have have been most copious and laid the greatest Stress, namely, that he never did any Service which could entitle him to the least Reward from the Publick. But should he entreat you to let him pursue his own Method in the ranging of his Arguments, and promise you to answer the Charge brought against him for infringing the Laws, in the Conclusion of his Defence, do not by any Means comply with his Request. For, be ye well assured, that if he does this, it is with no other View than to deceive and impose upon your Judgments, in regard, he will never plead afterwards to the Indictment preferred against him. For, being conscious to himself, that he can make no legal nor just Defence, he will endeavour, by mentioning Matters foreign to the Case in Hand, to make you forget the chief Articles of the Accusation. As therefore you (a) behold the Wrestlers in the *Gymnick Exercises*, struggling with one another about the most advanta-

(a) As therefore you behold the *Wrestlers*, &c.] *Æschines* to make *Demosthenes* answer in the same Method that he had accused. *Demosthenes*, Point. It was the Business of who well knew where the true

geous Standing and Posture; so do you contend all Day with *Demosthenes* in behalf of the *Common-Wealth*, with regard to the Order and Method of his Defence: And do not permit him to wander into Matters no way relating to the *Indictment*; but listening with close Attention, and narrowly watching all that he shall offer, constrain him to keep constantly to the Business in Hand, and take particular Care to guard yourselves against the artful Digressions and tedious Windings of his Discourse.

71. But if you will hear *Demosthenes* in this manner, I cannot help thinking it incumbent upon me to foretel you the Consequences that will follow from it. (a) He will not only put the Jugler upon you, and conjure the Money out of your Pockets, but cut the Purse-Strings of the *Common-Wealth*. For he can weep with more ease than others laugh, and is, of all Men living, the most prone and ready (b) to perjure and forswear himself. Nor should I be struck with Wonder or Surprise, if he suddenly changed his Note, and instead of shedding Tears, grievously upbraided the By-Standers, saying, that those who are truly reputed Lovers of Oligar-

Pinch of the Question lay, begs leave to attack, and defend in his own way. Thus are these two mighty Wrestlers for Fame described as in a *Panocratick* Scuffle, traversing for a Situation, and Posture, contriving how they may take the best Gripe, not only of each other, but of their Audience too; studying how they may tumble each other in the Dust, and take all ungenerous Advantages.

(a) He will not only conjure the Money, &c.] The political Jugler, like the stroling Conju-

rer, performs most of his Feats by Combination, and generally the Man of the Company that complains most of the Loss, is deepest in the Secret.

(b) To perjure and forswear himself.] The Athenians were generally remarkable for Truth, insomuch, that *Ἀληθὴν πῖσις* is a Proverb for Sincerity. Yet after all, if we may judge by our Orator, the very best of their Politicians acted upon a *Spartan* Maxim of *Lysander's*, Children may be deceived with Play-things, but Men with Oaths.

chy, are the Men that appear at the Tribunal, in order to assist such as prefer Accusations; while those, on the contrary, who are Republicans in Principle, become Advocates for such as happen to be impeached. If he takes the Liberty to talk in this *sedition* manner, you may make him this Answer, ‘ Had those
 ‘ brave Men, *Demosthenes*, who brought Home the
 ‘ People from *Phyle*, in any respect resembled you,
 ‘ we never should have had a *Democratical* Form of
 ‘ Government established in *Athens*. But they delivered
 ‘ and preserved the *Common-Wealth* from the greatest
 ‘ Miseries and Misfortunes, by constantly pursuing this
 ‘ wise and glorious Maxim, (to forget all Injuries, and
 ‘ pass an Act of Indemnity); whereas, you, on the
 ‘ contrary, tear open the old Sores and Wounds of the
 ‘ Republick again; and in a Word, are more solici-
 ‘ tous about the *Cadence of a Period* in one of those
 ‘ Orations which you daily deliver, than about the
 ‘ Interest and Welfare of your Country.’

72. But when this Perjurer shall betake himself to Oaths, in order to make you believe his Assertions, take care to tell him, that the Man who so frequently forswears himself, and yet expects to be constantly believed upon account of his Oaths, ought necessarily to have one of these two Things, (neither of which falls to the Lot of *Demosthenes*), (a) either new Gods, or a different Auditory. Then, as to the Torrent of his Tears, and the Tone of his Voice, when he shall ask these Questions in the most lamentable Manner,
 ‘ Where shall I fly to, O Men of *Athens*? Will you
 ‘ banish me from my Country? Will you banish me,

(a) *Either new Gods, or a different Auditory.*] This ingenious Compendium of Satyr, ought well to be considered by such, as every Day swear for *Nothing*, and perjure themselves for *Some-thing*. Here *Æschines* seems wonderfully to desire that *Demosthenes* might be banished, that so he might have a fair Chance for new Gods, and a fresh Audience.

‘ who have no other Place of Refuge?’ Do you make him this Reply,’ ‘ Whither, O *Demosthenes*, shall the People of *Athens* fly? To what Armaments of their Confederates, to what Subsidies shall they have recourse? What Forts, what Bul-warks did you raise for the *Athenians* during your Administration?’ We indeed plainly see the early Provision which you have made for yourself; for, leaving the City, you removed to the *Piræus*, not with an intent to dwell in *that Port*, as you pretended; but rather to secure an Opportunity of making your escape by Sea, *in case any Danger should threaten your Country*, having made ample Provision for your Voyage, you Coward, out of the *Persian Gold*, and the Treasures, of which, by your corrupt Practices, you defrauded the Publick.

73. But what means this Floud of Tears? What means this lamentable Out-cry? and what, this mournful Tone of the Voice? Is not *Ctesiphon* the Person that stands indicted? And is not the Mulct for his Crime ascertained by the Laws? How then, *Demosthenes*, are you concerned in this Cause? Neither with regard to Life, nor Fortune, nor Reputation. What then is he so solicitous and earnest about? Why, about Crowns of Gold, and Proclamations made in the *Theatre* in direct Violation of our Laws: Honours, which, though, the People, should, in a Fit of Madness, and utterly unmindful of the present unhappy Situation of Affairs, unseasonably bestow upon him; yet was it his Duty to come into the general Assembly, and address them after this manner; ‘ Men of *Athens*, I thankfully accept of the Crown, which you have been pleased to bestow upon me; but as to the Time appointed for making the Proclamation, that I can by no means approve of. For that surely can never be a proper Juncture for me to be honoured with a Crown, on which the whole *Common-Wealth* is plunged into the deepest Mourning and Sorrow.’

‘ row’. This, in my Apprehension, would have been the best Method for a Man, who had always trod in the Paths of Virtue, to have expressed himself. But *Demosthenes* will presently pour out such Language, as the vilest (a) *Miscreant*; as he who affects only the bare appearance of Virtue, would blush to utter.

74. Nor need any of you, (by *Hercules*), be in the least afraid, that *Demosthenes*, that Man of Valour, that brave Soldier, when he finds himself disappointed of the Reward due to his gallant Actions, will, upon his return Home, either murder or destroy himself. No; he, who so greatly despises your Honour and Esteem, as ten thousand times to cut and wound his own accursed Head, (which is still obnoxious to the Punishment due to such as have not passed their Accounts, notwithstanding *Ctesiphon’s* Decree to crown it in contempt of all our Laws), and this too, in order to procure Money, by preferring Indictments against others, for the Wounds he deliberately gave himself; *such a one, I say, will never make a violent attempt upon his own Life.* Nay, he was so beaten and bruised by *Midias*, on this very Account, that I believe the Marks and Traces of his Knuckles are still visible on his Head: A Head, which the Wretch carries not so much for its natural Use, as for a constant Income and Support.

75. Now, with regard to *Ctesiphon* the Author of this Decree, I shall be very brief, and pass many Things over in Silence, which I could justly lay to his Charge, on purpose to make the Experiment whether you are able to distinguish egregious Villains,

(a) *As the vilest Miscreant.* the most ignominious Import.
Καὶ δαπνα.] The Victim offered | Perhaps *Æschines* applies it here
 in Lustrations was so called, as | to *Demosthenes* as a Purger of the
 also the Slaves that carried Wa- | political Constitution.
 ter for the Service: a Term of |

from Men of *Virtue*, before they are pointed out to you by others: I shall therefore confine myself to the mention of such Things only, as may in common Justice, be said equally to the Disadvantage of them both. They both run about the *Forum*, and having true Ideas of one another, fail not to set each other's Character in its proper Light. *Ctesiphon*, for his Part declares, that he is under no Apprehension of Danger, (for he hopes you will regard him as no other than an ignorant and simple Person), but owns, he is not only in a Consternation concerning the Bribery and Corruption of *Demosthenes* during the whole Course of his Administration; but also concerning the abject Fear and Cowardice which he openly betrayed in the Day of Battle. And, on the other Hand, *Demosthenes* confidently affirms, that he regards himself as out of all kind of Danger, but at the same Time acknowledges, that he cannot but labour under strong Apprehensions, concerning the Debauchery and Villany of *Ctesiphon*. Let it therefore never be said, when two such Men have mutually condemned each other for their respective Crimes, that you who are the common Judges of them both, shall ever suffer either of them to escape with Impunity.

76. But, as to the Reproaches which he designs to cast upon me, I must beg leave to anticipate some of them, in as few Words as possible. I hear *Demosthenes* intends to assert, that he himself has done many signal Services for the *Common-Wealth*, but that I, on the contrary, have greatly injured it, in a Multitude of Instances; and am alone chargeable with all the Evils and Calamities, which we have suffered, both at the Hands of *Philip*, and *Alexander*. For so terrible it seems, an Operator is he in Words, that, not content to arraign my Conduct, and impeach all my Words and Actions, both as a publick Minister, and an Orator, he goes yet further, and basely asperges the private

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vate and retir'd part of my Life; nay, (and lest any thing should escape his malicious Calumny), he accuses my very Silence, and blames me for spending part of my Time among the Youth in their publick Places of Exercise: And in the very beginning of his Defence on this Indictment, charges me with preferring this Accusation, not out of any Zeal for the Service of my Country, but in order to discover my own Sentiments and Disposition to *Alexander*, by expressing my Enmity against himself in so publick a manner. And truly, as I am informed, he intends to ask me, why I now impeach his whole Administration of the publick Affairs at once, and did not give him the least Trouble, or bring my Accusation against him, upon the Commission of each particular Crime? and why, after so great an interval of Time, and at a Season, when I had almost wholly withdrawn myself from the publick Business, have I preferred this Indictment against him?

77. For my part, I profess, that I never yet envied *Demosthenes* his manner of Conversing, or spending his Time; nor am I in the least ashamed of my own. I cannot indeed so much as wish any thing that I ever said among you again unsaid; but, had I made such Harangues, as he has publicly delivered, I should no longer think my self worthy of living upon the Face of the Earth. As to my Silence, *Demosthenes*, that is entirely to be ascribed to my temperate and moderate manner of Living; for, a little suffices me; nor do I covet more upon base or dishonourable Conditions. Hence it is, that I either preserve Silence, or speak the Sentiments of my Mind, according to my own Will and Pleasure, being in no respect constrained to do either for the Gratification of a luxurious Appetite or prodigal Disposition: Whereas, I am certain, that you, on the contrary, whensoever you receive a Bribe, are profoundly silent; but when you have spent and squan-

squandered it away, then you make a horrid Clamour and Out-cry; nor do you, even in such case, speak the real Sentiments of your own Mind, nor at the Time that you think most proper, but the Sentiments of those that hire you, and at whatsoever Conjunction they think fit to lay their Commands upon you. Nor do you blush publickly to own, and glory in those very Things, which immediately after, are manifestly discovered to have been Falsehoods and Impositions of your own Contrivance.

78. As to the present Indictment concerning this Decree, which, according to your Assertion, I did not prefer with a View to serve the *Common-Wealth*, but in order to discover the Sentiments of my own Mind to *Alexander*, it was preferred in the Life-time of *Philip*, and before *Alexander's* Accession to the *Macedonian* Throne; it was preferred long before you had that Vision of *Pausanias*, or that Dialogue, which you pretend to have had by Night, with *Juno* and *Minerva*. But how could I discover the Sentiments of my Mind to *Alexander* so long before-hand, had I not seen the very same Vision which *Demosthenes* had seen?

79. But you are pleased to heap Reproaches upon me, because I have not constantly, and without Interruption, applied my self to the Business of the Publick; and imagine, we are not sensible, that you borrowed this Maxim, not from the Democratical, but from a quite different Form of Government. In an Oligarchical Constitution, the Privilege of preferring Accusations, is lodged in the Persons governing, and not in every private Person that pleases; whereas in Democratical Constitutions, every one that pleases, may bring his Action, and at whatsoever Time he shall judge most proper. And indeed, to bring an Accusation after a certain Period or interval of Time, is a strong

strong Argument, that a Man consults the Advantages and seasonable Opportunities of the State, in doing it; whereas, to prefer Impeachments every Day, argues a corrupt and mercenary Disposition.

80. When therefore you betake yourself to such Arguments as this for your Defence, namely, that I never yet brought you into Judgment, nor got you condemn'd to suffer Punishment for the Commission of any Crime whatsoever; you must either conceive your Auditors to be exceedingly forgetful, or by such Sophistry greatly impose upon yourself. Indeed it is so long ago, since I publickly convicted you, not only of having committed the most horrid Impieties in relation to the *Amphissæans*, but also of the most scandalous Bribery with regard to the *Eubæans*, that perhaps you are in hopes, they are all now entirely worn out of the Peoples Memories. But, as to the Plunder and Rapine, of which you were guilty with regard to the Equipment of the Gallies, and to the Trierarchs, what Time can efface, or bury it in Oblivion? At this Juncture it was, that you proposed a Law concerning the setting out of three hundred Gallies, and perswaded the People of *Athens* to appoint yourself chief Inspector of the Naval Stores, for which I openly accused, and convicted you of having defrauded those Trierarchs of sixty five light Gallies; thus robbing the *Common-Wealth* of a more powerful Fleet, than she had at the Sea-fight at (a) *Naxus*, when the *Athenians* gained a compleat Victory over the *Lacedæmonians* under the Conduct of their Admiral (b) *Pollis*.

(a) *Naxus*.] An Island, one of the *Cyclades*.

(b) *Pollis*.] This, I think, was the Person, to whom, as *Laertius* says, *Dionysius* delivered up *Plato*, in order to put him to Death. He was Admiral of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, and beaten betwixt *Naxus* and *Paros* by *Chabrias* the *Athenian* in the fourth Year of the hundredth Olympiad. Sig. in *Temp. Athen*.

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81. But you, by your artful method of recrimination, so secured yourself against Punishment, that your Accusers themselves were in greater Danger of being Sufferers than you who were really guilty. For, what, with perpetually throwing out your Reproaches both against *Philip* and *Alexander*; and what, with heaping Calumnies upon some of our Citizens, as if they had betrayed the critical Opportunities, and greatly embarrassed the Affairs of the *Common-Wealth*, you lost all the real Advantages which might have been secured at that Conjunction, but promised to do Wonders for the Time to come. Thus likewise, when I lately intended to have preferred an Indictment against you for capital Crimes, you managed Matters so, as to get *Anaxinus*, a Native of *Oreum*, and Factor for *Olympias* at *Athens*, apprehended and imprisoned; nay, you strangled him with your own Hand, having yourself actually drawn up the Decree for his Execution; the Man, at whose House you lived in *Oreum*, at whose Table you eat and drank, and with whom you offered Libations to the Gods; the Man, with whom you lovingly shook Hands, in token of Friendship and Hospitality; even this very Man, I say, did you barbarously murder and destroy. And when in the presence of all the People of *Athens*, I fairly convicted you of so notorious Treachery and Baseness, and called you, *The Murderer of your Host*, you denied not the impious Deed, but made such an answer as forced not only our own Citizens, but all the Strangers that were present at the Assembly, to cry out and exclaim against you. For you scrupled not to say, ‘ That you (a) pre-

(a) That you preferred the Salt of Athens, &c.] An essential Ingredient in all Sacrifices was Salt; and this the Heathens seem to have learned from the Jews, in that Command in *Lev. ii. 13.* *With all thine Offerings thou shalt offer Salt.* Hence perhaps, it is called by *Homer* and others, *Divine Salt*; and thus too, it was Thought

‘ preferred the Salt of *Athens*, before that of any Stranger’s Table.

82. But, to pass over in Silence the Letters which *Demosthenes* forged himself, his seizing of pretended Spies and putting them to the Torture, in order to extort from them a Confession of imaginary Plots and Conspiracies, as if I, in conjunction with certain other Citizens, were attempting to make Innovations in the *Common-Wealth*; I am informed, he will, in the next place, ask me this Question; What Character would that Physician deserve, who during his Patient’s Illness, never prescribed a Remedy for him; but (a) comes nine Days after his Death to accompany his Remains to the Grave, and there truly expatiates to his Friends on the various Remedies, which, had they been applied, would have restored him to his former Health? But you never ask yourself this Question, *Demosthenes*; What Character would that publick Minister deserve, whose constant Practice it is, to flatter the People in the most servile Manner; to betray those critical Opportunities which might have been improved for the preservation of the *Common-Wealth*; and to hinder all well-disposed and discreet Citizens by his Calumnies, from delivering their Advice in the pub-

thought to consecrate the very Table, upon which it was laid; for as *Arnobius* tells the *Gentiles*, *Sacras facitis Mensas appositu Salinorum*. It is with a View to this received Opinion, that we meet with that Expression, *Ye are the Salt of the Earth*. So great was the Respect they had for it, that the last Piece of Furniture a Man in the utmost Distress would part with was the Salt-Seller. It was also said by *Aristotle*, that Men must eat many Bushels of Salt to-

gether before they could become real Friends. But the peculiar Emphasis of it here, is, that Salt was always put to a Stranger’s Plate, before he tasted any Meat.

(a) *But comes nine Days after his Death, &c.*] The Time between the Death of the Person, and the Burial, was sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the Circumstances of the Deceased, and the Pomp of the Procession: but *Εννὰ ἡμέραι*, determines it here to the ninth Day.

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lick Assemblies: A Minister, I say, whose practice it is, to fly from Dangers like a Coward, after he has plunged his Country into the most desperate Evils; and yet has the Assurance to demand a Crown, as a Reward for his Valour? A Minister, who, though he never performed the least gallant Action through the whole Course of his Life, but was, on the contrary, the grand Author of all our Miseries and Misfortunes, yet now presumes to ask those very Persons, whom by his own false Accusations and Calumnies, he drove away and rendered incapable of assisting the *Common-Wealth* at a Crisis, when she might possibly have been preserved, why they did not vigorously oppose his destructive Measures, and make a glorious Stand against his pernicious Schemes? To all which they may return this short Answer, ‘ After the Battle was over, ‘ *Demosthenes*, we had not leisure to consider what ‘ Punishment was proper to be inflicted on you, but ‘ were busily employed about dispatching Embassies ‘ for the Preservation of our Country.’ But, in regard you are now so far from being content with escaping Punishment, that you even presume to demand a Reward, and by that means render our Republick ridiculous in the Eyes of all the States of *Greece*; Upon this, *Demosthenes*, I could not forbear opposing so impudent a Demand, nor any longer defer preferring this Impeachment against you.

83. But, (by all the immortal Gods), I cannot help being exceedingly provoked and exasperated at what I am now going to lay before you, which, I hear, *Demosthenes* designs to advance concerning me. He, it seems, scruples not to compare my Eloquence to the Songs of the *Syrens*, who, as he asserts, do not so properly charm as destroy their Hearers, and therefore it is, that the Musick of the *Syrens*, is reckoned dangerous and fatal: In the same manner, says he, my Talent and Skill in Oratory, have always proved fatal
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and destructive to my Audience. This Censure indeed, I apprehend, cannot be passed upon me with any colour of Justice, by any Person whatsoever, (and surely it is a shameful thing for any Man to accuse another of what he is not able to prove against him): But, if this Censure were at all proper, certainly, of all Men living, it is the least so from the Mouth of *Demosthenes*. It should rather come from some military Man, who had performed many glorious Actions in the Service of his Country, but was not endowed with a Talent of Elocution, and therefore *when accused*, could not forbear envying the Wit and Eloquence of his Antagonist, being conscious to himself of his own Inability to set off his Actions to Advantage; whereas he saw his Accuser not only able to invent and lay before his Audience such Facts as he had never been guilty of, but also to persuade them by the Power of his Eloquence into a belief of them. But, when a Man, who is entirely composed of Words, and those too the bitterest and most nicely laboured, when such a Man, I say, shall betake himself to a simple and undisguised manner of speaking, and refer himself solely to the Merit of his Actions, who can bear him? A Man; who if deprived of Speech, is of no more value than (a) a Pipe that has lost its Tongue.

84. I am very much surprized, O Men of *Athens*, and would willingly hear what Reasons you can possi-

(a) *Than a Pipe that has lost its Tongue.*] This γλῶσσα, or γλῶττις, as *Hesychius* calls it, *Lingula*, is by *Festus* said to be a thin Plate, cut in the Shape of a Tongue, and fixed in the Mouth of the Pipe. It was so absolutely necessary, for modulating the Tone of the Reeds, that without it, they would not speak; infomuch, that the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar*, mentions it as a kind of Miracle, that a certain Musician, when the Tongues of his Pipes drop'd out, performed successfully upon the Reed alone. In the same Manner likewise *St. Chrysostom* speaks of the Tongue of the Pipe. *Homil. 43.*

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bly assign for acquitting *Ctesiphon* of the high Crimes and Mildemeanours, with which he is charged in this Indictment. Is it, because his Decree is agreeable to your Laws? No: Never was Decree more unlawful. Is it, because the Author of the Decree merits not the severest Punishment? But you will never have it in your Power to call any Man hereafter to an Account, either for his publick or private Actions, if you suffer this Man to escape with Impunity. Is it not a most deplorable Case, that on the Day particularly appointed in former Times for bestowing foreign Crowns, the Theatre should be filled with Crowns of Gold, which the States of *Greece* presented to the People of *Athens*; but that now, through the corrupt and iniquitous Administration of *Demosthenes*, you yourselves are deprived of the Honour both of such Crowns and Proclamations. And yet, shall *Demosthenes* himself be honoured with a Crown and a Proclamation? Should any of the Tragic Poets, who, immediately after conferring such Honours upon him, were to appear upon the Stage, introduce (a) *Thersites* in his Tragedy, as crowned by the *Greeks*; not one amongst you, I am certain, would ever bear it; because *Homer* represents him, both as a vile Coward and a notorious Sycophant: And when you yourselves honour a Man of the very same Character with a Crown, can you expect not to be scorned and derided by all the People of *Greece*? Your brave Forefathers constantly referred all that was great and glorious to the People, as to its proper Fountain, and imputed all that was base and ignoble to the vile Orators that lived amongst them: But *Ctesiphon* differs quite in Opinion from them. He, with great Modesty, would fain persuade you to remove all Infamy and Disgrace from *Demosthenes*, and heap it upon the People of *Athens*. Moreover, you

(a) *Thersites*.] One of the; all the Men that went to the most deformed and cowardly of | Siege of Troy. *Hom. Iliad. 2.*

say, you are Fortunate and happy, as indeed you are, and you have reason to assert it: Will you then pass a Decree, publickly declaring, that your good Fortune has forsaken you, and that *Demosthenes* is your best Benefactor, and the only Person that inviolably adheres to your publick Interests?

85. And is it not the most irrational and absurd Thing in the World, that you, who in the publick Courts of Justice, brand those with Infamy that are convicted of Corruption and Bribery, should yet, at the same Time, honour one with a Crown, whom you yourselves know to have been guilty of the same Crimes in the publick Administration of your Affairs? You lay Mulcts and Punishments upon the Judges of the *Bacchanalian* Games if they fail to pronounce an upright Sentence upon (a) the Circular Dancers. But will you yourselves, who are not constituted Judges of such Circular Dancers, but of the Laws, and of civil Virtue, bestow your Rewards, in contempt of the Laws, not upon the few Persons that deserve them, but upon such as endeavour to obtain them by Faction and Intrigue? Hence, a Judge of this Character departs the publick Court, after having rendered himself very weak and inconsiderable, but the Orator very great and powerful: For the Laws and the Right of Suffrage render every Person in a Democratical Constitution

(a) Upon the Circular Dancers.] The Chorus, which was always used in *Lyrick* Poetry, danced in different Figures, oftener in the Square, in *Dithyrambicks* only in the circular Form. In the sacred Hymns were three Stanzas; the First was sung in turning from East to West; this was the *εγορὴ*: The Second in turning from West to East: This was the *αντιστροφή*: In the Third, they stood before the Altar, and this was the *ἐπὶ δὲ*.

Each God had his peculiar Hymn, thus *Apollo's* was called *Pæan*, *Venus's* *ἐπίστροφος*, and *Bacchus's* *Dithyrambus*. To these Hymns several Persons danced at the publick Solemnities and Shows of the *Athenians*; and of the Judges appointed to regulate and adjudge Rewards to the best Performers of this Circular Dance in honour of *Bacchus*. *Æschines* speaks in this Passage.

as great as a King. But the Moment he gives up these Prerogatives to others, he resigns up his own Liberty and Power together with them. Besides, his Remorse for breaking the Oath which he took to give Judgment according to Justice, perpetually haunts and torments him; the violation of it being, in my Opinion, a very great and enormous Crime. Moreover, the Favour he designed to confer is entirely lost, in regard, the Person whom he intended to oblige, is quite ignorant of it, the Suffrage of every particular Person being given in Secret.

86. We seem, O *Athenians*, preposterously, at once to reform our Constitution, and hazard it too; for, that the Multitude should at this Juncture give up their Rights and Liberties into the Hands of a few of their Fellow-Citizens, is such a preposterous piece of Policy, as I can in no sort approve of. But, that we do not at this Day abound with wicked and audacious Orators, is, in my Apprehension, a very great Felicity. In former Times, indeed, this *Common-Wealth* produced many Persons of that base and disingenuous Character, who very easily destroyed the People, in regard they were greatly pleased and delighted with their Adulation and Flattery: Whence, they soon became a Prey, not to those whom they stood in Fear of, but to those in whom they reposed their greatest Confidence and Trust. For, some of these Orators themselves became afterwards of the Number of the thirty Tyrants; and put above fifteen hundred Citizens to death, without any kind of legal Process; without so much as letting them know the Crimes for which they were condemned to suffer; and without permitting even their Friends and Relations to accompany their Remains to the Grave, or see the decent Rites of Sepulture bestowed upon them. Will you not therefore keep your publick Ministers under proper Subjection? Will you not humble, and drive those who are grown so insolent and haughty, by
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their present Exaltation, into Banishment ? And will you not remember this Maxim, ‘ that no Man ever yet attempted to destroy the popular Form of Government, ’till he had first subverted the Power and Authority of the Courts of Justice.

87. I would fain, O *Athenians*, reason this Matter with the Author of this Decree, in your Presence, and know, for what Acts of Beneficence, for what good Services, he thinks *Demosthenes* deserves a Crown. If, *Ctesiphon*, you assert, (as you have done in the very Preamble of your Decree), that it is, because he repaired and fortified our Walls and Intrenchments in a very extraordinary manner, you will not fail to strike me with Wonder and Surprise ; because to be the Occasion of their wanting such Reparation, is certainly more criminal, than to repair them, though never so well, can be meritorious. For, no Man ought to demand the Reward due to a good Minister, meerly for the Reparation of Walls and Intrenchments, or for erecting publick Places of Sepulture ; but for procuring some great and signal Advantage to his Country. But if you proceed to the second Article of your Decree, wherein you had the Assurance to insert, ‘ That he is an honest and good Man, and always had the Welfare and Service of the People of *Athens* so much at Heart, as to make them the very End of all his Words and Actions :’ I must insist, that you strip your Decree of that vain and ostentatious Pomp of Style, and enter plainly into a detail of his Actions, and prove all that you advance with relation to them. For, not to mention the Bribery and Corruption, of which he was guilty, both with regard to the *Amphissæan* and *Eubæan* Affairs ; when you ascribe the *Theban* Alliance to the Negotiation of *Demosthenes*, you only deceive those who are ignorant of that matter, but put a palpable Affront upon such as know and are acquainted with it. For, by throwing the Necessity of the

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Times, and the Power and Reputation of the People of *Athens*, which alone produced that Alliance, entirely out of the Case, you not only impose upon us, but design also to rob the *Common-Wealth* of its Honour and Glory, on purpose to invest and adorn *Demosthenes* with them.

88. But I shall endeavour to make the great Arrogance and Presumption of this Proceeding appear further to you, by a very strong and convincing Argument. The King of *Persia*, not long before *Alexander's* Expedition into *Asia*, sent the People of *Athens* an Epistle fraught with Insolence, and written in a most barbarous Style, which, after many other rude and menacing Declarations, concludes thus: ' I (says he) will give you no Gold; demand it not of me; for you shall never get it.' Yet this very Prince, when afterwards surrounded with such Dangers, as now beset him, voluntarily, and without any Demand made by the People of *Athens*, sent them three hundred Talents, which they wisely and discreetly refused to accept. Here the Necessity of the Times, the Fears under which he laboured, and his Need of Confederates, evidently procured the Gold; and the very same Causes, as evidently forced the *Thebans* to enter into an Alliance with us. But you are always troubling us with the Name of the *Thebans*, and perpetually telling us of that most unfortunate Alliance; whereas you take peculiar Care never to make mention of the seventy Talents which you basely received from the King of *Persia*, and appropriated to your own use. Was it not for the want of Money, for the want of five Talents only, that the foreign Soldiers refused to surrender their Fortress to the *Thebans*? Was it not for the want of nine Talents of Silver, that, when the whole Body of the *Arcadians* with their Generals at their Head marched out to their Assistance, the whole Affair was blasted, and came to nothing? while you
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in the mean Time wallow in Affluence and Wealth, and indulge your private Pleasures at an exorbitant Expence. In a Word, *Demosthenes* engrosses the King of *Persia's* Gold, while you, O *Athenians*, share only the Dangers that befall your Country.

89. It will not now, I presume, be improper to take a View of the Weakness and Folly of these two worthy Persons. If *Ctesiphon* shall presume to call up *Demosthenes* to make an Oration to you, and he, ascending the *Rostrum*, shall loudly celebrate his own Praises; the bare Recital of his own Actions, will, I am persuaded, be more grating and intolerable to you, than the various Evils into which he has plunged you. For, if we cannot even bear those Men, whose Actions we are all sensible, have been great and glorious, both in Peace and in War, when they take upon them to proclaim their own Praises; How can we bear to hear that Man extolling himself in the most extravagant manner, who is the very Scandal and Disgrace of the *Common-Wealth*? If therefore, you have the least share of Prudence or Discretion, *Ctesiphon*, you will decline this shameful Part, and immediately proceed to make your Defence: In regard, you can by no means pretend to be ignorant or unable to plead your own Cause. For, surely, it would be a Thing very strange and absurd, that you who were lately content to be chosen Embassador to *Cleopatra* the Daughter of *Philip*, to condole with her upon the Death of *Alexander* King of the *Molossians*, should now pretend to have no Talent of Elocution. Can you comfort and console a strange Lady buried under a Weight of Affliction and Sorrow, and yet not be able to defend a Decree which you yourself were bribed to prefer?

90. Or, is the Person, for whom you decreed the Honour of a Crown, such a one, as that his Merits would be unknown, did not some Orator display them before you, who hath been obliged by them? Ask the Judges, whether they knew (a) *Chabrias*, (b) *Iphicrates*, and (c) *Timotheus*, and desire to be informed by them, for what Reasons, they bestowed Rewards upon, and erected Statues in honour of them? They all with one Voice will make you this Answer, that *Chabrias* was honoured for the Victory he gained in the Sea-fight as *Naxus*, *Iphicrates* for cutting to Pieces the *Lacedæmonian* Legion, called (d) *Mora*; *Timotheus* for sailing opportunely to the Relief of (e) *Corcyra*; and others for various great and glorious Actions performed in War. But, should any one ask you, why will you not reward *Demosthenes* in the like manner? The

(a) *Chabrias*.] A famous General of the *Athenians*, who in a Sea-fight, beat the *Lacedæmonians*. It was his usual Saying, that an Army of Stags with a Lion to their Leader, was more dreadful than one of Lions led on by a Stag. He was famed for teaching the *Greeks* to receive an Attack with their Knees against their Shields, and their Spears stretched out.

(b) *Iphicrates*.] An *Athenian* General, famous for Military Conduct and Skill. He routed a Party of the *Lacedæmonian* Horse, in which Action, says *Cornel. Nepos*, he gained much Reputation; and in a second Engagement totally defeated their Army, which made his very Name formidable. He was famous for changing the heavy Armour for more light, and the short Spears and Swords, for longer.

(c) *Timotheus*.] An *Athenian* General of a noble Family, so fortunate in his Enterprizes, especially in his Conquests of the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ordered his Picture to be set up, with Fortune bringing him Cities taken in a Net, as he lay sleeping. He had for his great Services a Statue erected in honour of him in the *Forum*, as *Conon* his Father also had: And this was the first Instance of a Father and a Son's being so honoured.

(d) *Mora*.] A certain Part, or Division of the *Spartan* Army. The Number of Men, and the Names, and kinds of Officers it consisted of, are set down by *Xenophon* in *Lacon*.

(e) *Corcyra*.] An Island over against *Epirus*; now called *Corfu*.

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Answer is obvious, because he is guilty of Bribery and Corruption, because he is a Coward, and basely ran away from his Rank in Battle. Whether then, will you chuse to honour *Demosthenes*, or dishonour yourselves, and all those Heroes who gloriously fell in defence of your Liberty in the Field of Battle? Imagine you see them all before your Eyes, bursting with Complaints, and boiling with Resentment, that such a Traytor should be presented with a Crown; and then *confer this Honour upon him if you can.* And indeed, O *Athenians*, it is very strange and surprizing, that (a) when Stocks, or Stones, or pieces of Iron, things inanimate and void of Sense, happen to fall upon any Man and crush him to Death, they are immediately removed and cast with abhorrence out of our Country; and when any Person lays violent Hands upon himself, we permit not the Hand that gave the fatal Blow, to be interred with the rest of the Body, but separately, and by its self: And yet, O *Athenians*, will you honour *Demosthenes* with a Crown; the Man, who not only decreed this last unfortunate Expedition, but who also basely betrayed our Troops into the Hands of their Enemies? If you do, then will you not only outrageously insult the Illustrious Dead, but discourage the Living and sink them quite into Despair, when they see Death the only certain Reward of their Valour, and their Memories so fleeting and likely to perish in Obscurity and Darknes.

(a) That when Stocks or Stones, &c.] *Draco* made a Law, in order to inspire the *Athenians* with Horror against Murder, enjoyn-
 ing all inanimate Things whatsoever, that should occasion the Death of any of the Citizens, to be cast out of the City and Territories of *Athens*. This Law was in force when this Oration was made, *Solon* having repealed none of *Draco's* Laws, that related to murder.

91. But what chiefly deserves to be regarded is this. Suppose the Youth of the *Common-Wealth* should ask you, what Example they should propose to copy after, in their Lives and Actions, what Answer would you give them? For, you cannot but be sensible, that neither the Schools appointed for Wrestling and other Exercises, nor for Learning, nor for Musick, afford so good Lessons for the Instruction of Youth, as the Proclamations granted by the Publick. Is any one proclaimed to be worthy of a Crown, in the publick Theatre, on Account of his Virtue, his Courage, or his Zeal for his Country, who is in reality a base, a wicked, or an infamous Person? The Youth who see this, are immediately debauched. Does any one suffer Punishment, who is remarkable for his Vices, and like *Ctesiphon*, addicted to all kinds of *Debaucheries*? It is a publick Warning and Instruction to others. Does any one prefer a Decree against all the Rules both of Honour and Justice, and afterwards upon his return Home, give good Instruction to his Son? His Son, without doubt, will never regard him; and no wonder, for in this Instance he would rather confound, than encourage him. Do not therefore look upon yourselves barely as Judges in this Case, but seriously consider, that the Eyes of all *Athens* are this Moment fixed upon you, and therefore give Judgment in such a Manner, as that you may be able to justify yourselves to the Rest of your Fellow-Citizens that now are absent, but who will not fail hereafter to ask you what Sentence you pronounced upon this Occasion. For, you cannot be ignorant, O *Athenians*, that the *Common-Wealth* will always be looked upon, to be of the same Character with the Person that is honoured with a Proclamation. And surely, it is the highest Disgrace and most severe Reproach that can be cast upon you, to say, ‘ That you are esteemed by all, rather to re-
sem-

‘ seemle that Abjeſt and vile Coward *Demosthenes*, than
 ‘ your own great and gallant Anceſtors.

92. But how is it poſſible for you to eſcape being branded with ſo great Infamy and Diſgrace? Why, by taking peculiar Care to guard againſt a certain Set of Men, who never fail to make uſe of very popular and benevolent Expreſſions upon all Occaſions, though their Actions ſpeak them to be notorious Traytors. For, *publick Zeal*, and *Liberty*, are Words, which every one that pleaſes may freely uſe, and thoſe, who moſt frequently checker their Diſcourſes with them, are found to be the Perſons that moſt commonly counteract them. When therefore, you obſerve an Orator very ambitious of obtaining foreign Crowns, and of being proclaimed in the Preſence of all the *Greeks*, bid him refer himſelf to his Actions, and corroborate his Aſſertions, (as the Law concerning the Confirmation of publick Proclamations expreſſly requires,) by the Teſtimony of a virtuous Life, and unblemiſhed Morals. But, if he cannot produce ſuch Vouchers as theſe in his own Behalf, do not you then ratifie a Proclamation, enjoyning Praises to be beſtowed upon him; and by this means, you will preſerve the Power of the People, which, at preſent, is in no ſmall Danger of being wreſted from them. For, what more grievous Encroachment, what greater Uſurpation can be imagined, than that the Authority both of Senate and People ſhould be contemned and deſpiſed; that Diſpatches and Embaſſies ſhould be ſent to private Houſes, and this, not from ordinary Perſons, but from the moſt powerful Princes of *Aſia* and *Europe*? Nay, that what the Law makes a capital Crime ſhould be endured, namely, that a certain Set of Men ſhould make no Scruple of openly owning in the very Aſſembly of the People, the Receipt of ſuch criminal Diſpatches, nor of communicating the Contents of them one to another; that others ſhould preſume

sume to bid you look upon themselves as Guardians of Liberty, and Protectors of the *Common-Wealth*; while others demand Rewards, as if they were the Saviours and Deliverers of their Country? But the People, quite dejected and broken with their Misfortunes, or, as it were, grown delirious with Age, or labouring under some strange Infatuation, retain only the Shadow, the bare Name of Liberty, and have in Fact given away the Substance to others. Hence it is, that you go out of the Assembly, not so properly from a publick Debate, as from a publick Banquet, where only the Fragments, *the poor Remains*, are distributed amongst you. To convince you that what I say is not trifling and imaginary, view it in the following Light.

93. There was in this City, (it greatly grieves me to be so often constrained to call the Miseries and Misfortunes of my Country to Remembrance), there was, I say, in this City, a certain private Person, who, for attempting to make his Escape by Sea, alone to (a) *Samos*, was condemned to suffer Death on the very same Day, by the Senate of *Areopagus*, as a Traytor to his Country, and was executed accordingly. (b) Another likewise of the same Rank, who cowardly fled to *Rhodes*, for fear of the Dangers that threatened

(a) *Samos*.] An Ionick Island and City of the same Name, not above seven Furlongs from the Continent. *Strab. L. 14.*

(b) *Another also of the same Rank, &c.*] The Name of this Person was *Leocrates*, a cowardly Citizen of *Athens*, who immediately after the fatal Battle of *Cheronea*, fled to *Rhodes*, and afterwards to *Megara*, where he continued till the Storm that threat-

ned his Country was over. This Man, upon his return to *Athens*, took the Liberty to reproach and censure several of his Fellow-Citizens for various Crimes. This Conduct raised him many Enemies, and among the Rest greatly offended *Lycurgus* the Orator, who impeaching him for High-Treason, had like to have convicted him of it.

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the Republick, being impeached for High-Treason, was lately acquitted by an exact equality of Voices; but had there only one Suffrage more been given against him, he could not possibly have escaped either Banishment or Death. Now let us apply this to the Case in hand. An Orator, the sole Author of all the Miseries and Misfortunes that have come upon us; a man, who, not only deserted his Rank in the Day of Battle, but likewise fled cowardly out of the City, not only presumes to demand a Crown, but thinks he also deserves the Honour of being publicly proclaimed. But will you not rather drive such a Man, as the Pest of all Greece, into Banishment? Or will you not seize, and take Vengeance of this publick Pyrate, who sails through your *Common-Wealth*, by the sole Power of his Words? Give me leave likewise to remind you of the Time, in which you are to pronounce your Sentence in this Cause. In a few Days (a) the *Pythian Games* will be celebrated, and the general Council of Greece will be solemnly convened; and it is well known, how greatly our Republick is at this Time traduced, and loaded with Reproaches, upon account of the Conduct and Administration of *Demosthenes*. If therefore, you shall think it proper to present him with a

(a) *The Pythian Games, &c.*] was overcome by *Apollo*: Or
 In these Games beside the *Quinquatrial* Exercises, common to the *Olympicks*, there were musical Prizes contended for; in one of which *Hesiod* was thrown out, because he could not play upon the Harp. These Games, instituted in honour of *Apollo*, were called *Pythian*, and *Apollo* himself, *Pythius*, either from *Python* a Serpent, or a Man so called for his Cruelty, who possessed the Place, named *Pythium*, and
 ἀπὸ τοῦ πύθων, i. e. to Putrify, because the Carcass of *Python* was suffered to lie there, and putrify; which Reason is given us by *Homer* in his Hymn to *Apollo*: or ἀπὸ τοῦ πυθιδῆαι, that is, to Enquire; because the Oracle of *Apollo* was there consulted and enquired of, and this is *Strabo's* Opinion: Or from *Pytho*, another Name of *Delphos*, given it from *Pythis*, the Son of *Delphus*, the Son of *Apollo*.
 Crown,

Crown, you will be justly thought to have entered into a Confederacy with those that have violated the general Peace: But if, on the contrary, you refuse to confer that Honour upon him, you will acquit the *Athenians* of all the Crimes and Calumnies that have been heaped upon them.

94. Do not debate then, with the same Indifference in this Case, that you would concerning the Interests of some foreign State; but consider, that this is your own native Country. Distribute not your Honours promiscuously, and without Distinction, but with Discretion and Judgment, and confer your Rewards upon such Persons only as have most eminently deserved them. Do not content yourselves barely with hearing with your Ears, but watch likewise one another with your Eyes, through the whole Course of your Debates, and observe narrowly, what kind of Men they are amongst you, that will presume to stand up in defence of *Demosthenes*; whether such as were his Companions in the Chase, or at the *Gymnick* Exercises, in the Days of his Youth.—But, by the immortal Powers, his Practice never was to hunt the *Savage* Boar, nor by such noble and dangerous Exercise to preserve a sound Constitution. No, no, his Practice always was, by Fraud and Artifice to cheat and strip the Rich of their Wealth and Fortunes.

95. But when you behold him arrogantly boasting, that he was the Person, who, by his Embassy, rescued (a) *Byzantium* out of the Hands of *Philip*; who stirred up the *Acarnanians* to revolt; who forced the *The-*

(a) *Byzantium*.] A City situate at the Entrance of the *Bosphorus*; now called *Constantinople*. *Strab. L. 12.*

bans into your Measures by the sole Power of his Eloquence, (for he imagines, you are now arrived to such a pitch of Stupidity, that he can persuade you into a Belief of all these Things, with as much ease, as if he were the very Goddess of Persuasion, and not the most pernicious Sycophant that was ever bred up in this *Common-Wealth*); and when, in the conclusion of his Defence, he calls up his Associates, the Accomplices of his Corruption, to his Assistance; do you imagine you see before your Eyes on this *Rostrum*, where I now stand and speak, the ancient Lovers and Benefactors of this Republick, all drawn up as if in Battle-array, to repress the Insolence of these two wicked and abandoned Wretches. Imagine you see *Solon*, a Man, who furnished this *Common-Wealth* with a most excellent Body of Laws, a great Philosopher, and a wise Legislator, with the greatest Modesty, (as became a Man of his consummate Character), entreating and beseeching you, by no means, to have a greater Regard for the oratorical Strains of *Demosthenes*, than for your Oaths, and for the Laws. Imagine you see *Aristides*, who adjusted with the utmost exactness the Taxes to be paid by the respective States of *Greece* for the Support of the common Cause, (whose Daughters the People were forced, after his Decease, to Portion off, at the publick Expence), bitterly deploring, and burning with Resentment at this open Insult, this foul Reproach thrown upon the publick Justice, and addressing you in this Manner, ‘ Do you not blush to ‘ Death, O Men of *Athens*, that your Forefathers were upon the Point of putting (a) *Arthmius* the (b) *Zelite* to Death, and actually banished him not only out of the City, but out of all its Territories and Domini-

(a) *Arthmius* the *Zelite*.] There a Pillar of Brass, and preserved was an Inscription engraven on | in the Citadel of *Athens*, to be
an

minions, for bringing Gold from the *Medes* into *Greece*, though he came to this City in quality of a Traveller only, and was accordingly entertained, as a Stranger and Guest by the People of *Athens*: And yet, will you honour *Demosthenes* with a golden Crown; a Wretch, who did not bring Gold from the *Medes*, but received it from them as a Bribe to betray you, and still retains it, nay, to this very Moment, in his own Possession? And, to add no more, do you think, that *Themistocles* and all those Heroes, that fell gloriously in the Battle of *Marathon*, that those who fell in the Plains of *Platea*, nay, that the very Tombs and Monuments of your Forefathers will not bitterly lament and groan, if he, who openly owns himself to have conspired with the *Barbarians* to destroy the *Greeks*, shall be honoured with a Crown?

96. And now, I call you, O *Earth* and *Sun*, and *Virtue*, and *Wisdom*, and thee, O *Learning*, both Natural and Acquired, whereby we are enabled to distinguish good from evil, to witness, that I have made my strongest Efforts, both to assist and plead the Cause of my sinking Country. If I have managed the Accusation well, and spoke to it in a Manner, equal to the greatness of the Crime for which I brought it, I have fully accomplished my Desire. But, if I have failed in the Performance, *I have only this to say,*

an everlasting Monument and Example of the Necessity the *Athenians* lay under, to be, with the utmost Care, upon their guard, against Corruption. It ran thus, 'Be *Arthmius* the *Zelete*, Son of *Pythonax*, infamous, and an Enemy to the People of *Athens*, and their Confederates, he and his Posterity.' And the

Reason follows, why this was done, viz. because he brought Gold from *Media* into *Peloponnesus*, not to *Athens*. *Demosthen. Phil. 3.*

(b) The *Zelete*.] *Zelesia*; a City under Mount *Ida*, towards *Propontis*, 80 Furlongs from the Sea. *Strab. L. 13.*

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that I have done my Duty to the utmost of my Power. Do you then, upon such Arguments as have been already offered, and upon such others as might have been urged upon this Occasion, form your Judgment, and pronounce such a Sentence, as shall not only rebound to the Honour of the publick Justice, but also to the Interest and Advantage of the *Common-Wealth* of *Athens*.

The End of the ORATION against CTESIPHON.



T H E

11

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FOUNDATION
TO THE PRESENT
TIME

By JOHN STOW

THE SECOND PART

OF THE HISTORY

THE
ORATION
OF
DEMOSTHENES
FOR
CTESIPHON,
Concerning the
CROWN.

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THE
ARGUMENT
OF THE
ORATION
OF
DEMOSTHENES for CTESIPHON,
Concerning the
CROWN.

PHILIP of Macedon, having defeated the Athenians and Thebans in a Battle fought at Chæronea, a City of Bœotia, put a Garrison into Thebes, and reduced it to a State of Subjection and Slavery. The Athenians therefore, being apprehensive they should suffer the like Fate, and expecting the Tyrant would invade them with all Expedition, resolved without delay to repair such Parts of their Walls as were

The Argument.

shattered and decayed. Upon this Occasion each Tribe elected Overseers of the Walls out of their own Body, and among the Rest, the Pandionian Tribe chose our Orator for this Employment. As soon as he had entered upon his Office, he, without waiting for the Receipt of the Money granted by the Publick for this purpose, disbursed it out of his own private Fortune, and instead of charging, generously bestowed it to the City. Hence Ctesiphon, at that Time, one of the chief Magistrates, took occasion to prefer this Decree in the Senate concerning him.

‘ *Whereas Demosthenes the Son of Demosthenes has through the whole Course of his Life demonstrated his Good-will and Affection to this Common-Wealth, but more especially of late, when being chosen Overseer of the Walls, and Money being wanting to carry on the Work, he disbursed it out of his own private Fortune, and freely bestowed it : May it therefore please the Senate and People to crown him with a golden Crown in the Theatre, when the (a) new Tra-*

(a) *When the new Tragedies are acting.* ἡ Τραγωδία ἀγομένων καὶ ὤν. In the Impeachment of *Æschines* it is read thus. Τραγωδῶν ἀγοιζομένων καὶ ὤν, whether these new Tragedians at that Time in *Athens*, were Poets, or Players, is not clear, nor is it, as *Wolfius* says, a Matter of any great Moment. All Theatres were dedica-

The Argument.

‘ Tragedies are acting, and that, when there is
 ‘ the greatest Concourse of People to see these
 ‘ Dramatick Performances.’

This Decree of the Senate being brought into the Assembly of the People, Æschines, who was always an Enemy to the Measures taken by Demosthenes in the Administration of the publick Affairs, stood up, and accused Ctesiphon, aserting this Decree to be expressly contrary to three Laws. To one, which forbids any Person to be honoured with a Crown who is liable to account with the Publick, until he shall have given up his Accounts: But, says he, Demosthenes has not given up his Accounts, though he was both Treasurer of the Money appointed for Theatrical Uses, and Overseer of the Walls, and therefore, he should have waited and forbore demanding a Reward, till, upon Examination, he should be found to have discharged these Offices with Uprightness and Integrity. The second Law he mentions, is that, which commands every one to be crowned only in the Pnyx, where the general Assembly of the

icated to Bacchus and Venus, the Deities of Sports and Pleasures, as <i>Last. L. 6.</i> informs us. To the former of which, they are said to owe their original, by	<i>Polydore Virg. L. 3. C. 13.</i> and therefore Plays acted in them were called, <i>Διονυσιακά</i> <i>Potter's Ant.</i>
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The Argument.

People is held ; in speaking to which , he severely reflects upon the People, for suffering Demosthenes his Crown to be proclaimed in the Theatre. The third Law entirely respects the Examination as well of all the private Actions of his Life, as of his publick Administration. For, it enacts, that no false Decrees should be registred in the Mettrous, where all publick Acts are repositied : But, says he, Ctesiphon asserts a gross Falsehood when he declares Demosthenes to have been always well affected to, and zealous in the Service of his Country : For, he will rather upon Examination be found, to have been always ill-affected, and an Enemy to it. Upon this third Law, of signal Advantage in this Contest, our Orator lays hold as upon a Sheet-Anchor, and by Means thereof turns upon his Adversary at once with great Force and abundance of Art : For he thence takes Occasion to entangle and lay his Enemy prostrate at his Feet. What relates to the other two Laws, namely, that concerning Persons who are liable to pass their Accounts with the Publick, and that concerning the Proclamation, he places in the Middle of his Oration, like a skilful General, that throws his worst Troops into the midst of his Army, but places his best in the Rear, and strengthens both Wings wherever they appear weakest. By this means, he disposes the Parts of his Oration to the best Advantage, nor does he there-

The Argument.

thereby unelegantly display his Art : For, what he seems to pass by in the beginning of his Oration with relation to the Laws, he afterwards resumes, and applies in a very different manner from what might have been expected. For, Æschines by quoting a false Law concerning Crowns, gives our Orator an Opportunity in his Answer, of laying open his whole Administration, as if, at the same Time, it clashed in some Sort with that Law. And this is the Method which he has pursued in the Disposition of this Oration. The chief Point of Æschines his Cause is founded upon Law; but of our Orator's upon Justice; and both of them, 'tis certain, had equally their own Benefit and Advantage in view; though that, with respect to either could not be clearly made appear. The State of the Case is general, and the chief Stress laid on a written Law, upon which the main Question with regard to the controverted Decree depends. This Indictment was preferred against him in the Life-time of Philip, but the Oration made, and Sentence pronounced in the Reign of Alexander. After the Demise of Philip, the Thebans taking Courage, bravely expelled the Garrison he had placed in their Citadel; upon which, Alexander thinking himself treated with Contempt, levelled Thebes with the Ground; but soon repenting of what he had done, with Shame and Confusion quitted Greece,

The Argument.

Greece, and made War upon the Barbarians. The Athenians therefore, thinking they had in the mean Time a proper Opportunity, to impeach those Traytors who had plunged Greece into so many Miseries and Misfortunes, among others, brought on the present Trial. The first Proem of the Oration consists of Intreaties, which he introduces by Degrees, in order to gain the Good-will of his Auditors, of which, upon such an Occasion, we often greatly stand in Need: And in this he seems to have had this Passage of Homer in view,

To me, O Gods, and Goddesses, give Ear.

Besides, he gives his Audience plainly to understand, that he relies with Confidence upon their Favour and Good will; for, had he not been fully satisfied of his own Integrity, he would not have invoked the whole Race of the Gods in that solemn Manner. The Words, διατλάειν οὖν τῇ πατρίδι, ('I have the Love of my Country so much at Heart, as to make it the very End of all my Actions'), are taken from Ctesiphon's Decree. This Good-will and Affection he plainly proves himself to have constantly born to his Country, and to have been always studious of its Welfare; and moreover declares, that he would sooner die, than change so generous a Resolution.

T H E



THE
ORATION
OF
DEMOSTHENES
FOR
CTESIPHON,
Concerning the
CROWN.



I N the first Place, O Men of *Athens*,
I beseech all the Gods and God-
desses to grant, That I may be
heard by you in this Debate, with
the same Degree of Affection,
(a) which I have always cherished
towards my Country, and towards
you all. In the next Place, since your Piety, as well

(a) Which I have always che- | πο' εἰ, properly signifies, to have
rished.] διατελεῖν ἐθροῖαν τῇ | the Love of one's Country so
much

as Reputation and Glory are so nearly concerned, may the Gods inspire you with a Resolution, not to be advised by my Adversary, after what Manner I am to be heard, (For, That indeed would not be just), but according to the Laws, (b) and your own solemn Oath, which, among many other just and necessary Obligations, contains in it this Clause, " That both Parties " must be heard with equal Regard ; that is, that not only, no Prejudice must take Place, nor Favour be shewn to one Side more than the other, but also, that each of the contending Parties may use what Order and Method of Defence he shall judge most proper.

2. It must be owned indeed, O *Athenians*, that there are many Circumstances, which give *Æschines* the Advantage of me in this Debate, but particularly two, and those of the greatest Moment. The one is, that the Issue of this our Contest is in no sort equal ; for, it is not the same Thing to me to forfeit your Favour at this Juncture, that it is to him, not to make good his Accusation. For, (c) of my self I can say : — but I will not say any Thing melancholly and inauspicious in the Beginning of my Defence ; though every Body sees, he is come
to

much at heart, as to make it the very End (τέλος) of all his Actions. Of this *Demosthenes* was very sensible ; and therefore in this Cause, wherein his Fame, Reputation, and Fortune, were all embarked, he puts his All upon this Issue ; there being nothing else in Nature, that could bear him up against his Adversaries, but this one Quality of having shewn himself willing, or able to serve his Country.

(b) And your own solemn Oath]

The Judges were obliged to take a solemn Oath among the *Athenians*, by the *Paternal Apollo*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter the King*, that they would give Sentence uprightly, and according to Law ; if the Law had determined the Point debated ; or where the Law was silent, according to the best of their Judgments. *Potter's Ant.*

(c) For of my self I can say] This is a beautiful *Aposiopesis*, and justly celebrated by most Writers upon Oratory.

to accuse me (a) out of an idle Officioufness only, and for want of any other Employment. The other is, that as all Men are naturally fond of hearing others reproached and censured, so they have also an Aversion to those who celebrate their own Praises. By this Means, the pleasing Part falls to his Share, while the Task which I am obliged to undergo, is universally disagreeable. So that, if to avoid this Censure, I pass over many of my Actions in Silence, I run the Risque of being thought neither able to disprove the Crimes, of which I am accused, nor to shew myself worthy the Honour, which has been bestowed upon me. And if I enter into a Detail of my publick Actions, and give an Account of my Administration, I cannot avoid making frequent Mention of myself: However, I shall endeavour to conduct myself by the Rules of the strictest Modesty in the doing of it. But if at any time, I shall be necessarily obliged to transgress these Bounds, it is reasonable that the Blame should fall upon him, who hath introduced this unac-

(a) Out of an idle Officioufness] *est accusare*, he accuses me in vain and to no manner of purpose. And 3, says the same Commentator, others think, that *Demosthenes* rather means by this Word, that *Æschines* accused him *ex libidine*, *cum ei licuisset otium agere*, out of Wantonness, or an idle Officioufness; or being much out of all other Business, and having no manner of call to this; in which Sense I have chose to translate it, that being, in my Apprehension, the most natural, and agreeable to the Scope and Design of our Orator; and is moreover confirmed by that Passage in *Salust*, wherein he seems to imitate this before us; *Nos pro Libertate, pro Patriâ, pro Vitâ certamus; illis supervacaneum est pugnare pro Potentiâ paucorum.*

countable

countable Proceeding. I am of Opinion then, My Judges, that you will all unanimously agree, that I am equally a Party in this Cause with *Ctesiphon*, and that it is incumbent upon me to be altogether as solicitous and earnest in it as he. For, as it is a very grievous and melancholly Thing, to be stripped of the Merit of all my Services, especially by the Hands of an Enemy; so to be deprived of your Favour and Good-will, must be much more intolerable, in regard, the Acquisition and Enjoyment of them, is the greatest Felicity in the World.

3. This therefore being the genuine State of this important Contest, give me leave (a) not only to require, but earnestly to beseech you, to grant me a favourable Hearing, while I stand up in my own Defence against the Crimes which I am charged with, and endeavour to demean my self with that Justice and Honesty prescribed by the Laws. Those Laws, which the virtuous *Solon*, that ancient Legislator, always well-affected to you, and studious of the Happiness of the Democratical Form of Government, did not think firmly enough established by their being committed to Writing, till he had further secured them by the solemn Oaths of you who are the Judges and Dispensers of them. Not, that I imagine he had the least Doubt of your Virtue, but because he very well foresaw, it would hardly be possible for an accused Person to acquit himself of all the Misrepresentations and Calumnies the Accuser is enabled to heap upon him by having the Opportunity of the first Word, unless every one of you, who sit in the Place of Judges,

(a) Not only to require, but earnestly to beseech you.] By the Word *αἰτῶ*. *Iustum censeo*, in the Original, *Wolffius* thinks, the Orator designed to let his Audience know, that his Claim to a

favourable Hearing from them, was founded upon Justice; but that by the Word, *δέχομαι*, *supplico*, he designed to move their Pity and Compassion towards him,

having

having an inviolable Regard to your religious Engagements, should listen with equal Attention to the accused Person in his Turn, and by allowing an impartial Hearing to both, render your selves capable of pronouncing a just and upright Sentence.

4. Since then, I am, as it seems, this Day to give an Account of all the private Transactions of my Life, as well as of my publick Administration ; I will once more, as in the Beginning, invoke and beseech the Gods in your Presence, to grant, in the first Place, that I may be heard in this Debate with the same Degree of Affection, which I have always cherish'd towards my Country, and towards you all ; and in the next, that they may incline you to bring this Cause to such a Determination, as may not only satisfy the Consciences of every one of you, but redound to the Honour and Glory of the Commonwealth, and its publick Administrations.

5. Had *Æschines* confined himself to the Articles of the Impeachment, which he brought against me ; then would I also have immediately applyed myself to defend the Legality of the Decree made by the Senate in my Favour. But, since he has not only been as copious, and laid as great a Stress, upon other Matters, but also laid numberless Crimes falsely to my Charge ; I cannot forbear thinking it both just and necessary, O Men of *Athens*, to speak briefly to those Points, lest any of you, being misled by what he has said foreign to the main Question in Debate, should conceive any Prejudice against what I have justly to offer in my own Defence against his Accusation. As to the Calumnies and Reproaches, which he has heaped upon me, with regard to my private Actions, See, with what Candour and Ingenuity I answer. If you know me to be such a Person, as he, in his Accusation, endeavours to represent me, (for I never lived any where
but

but amongst you), do not so much as suffer me to speak one Word in my own Vindication; no; tho' I had been the best publick Minister that ever was amongst you, but rise up immediately, and condemn me. But, if you both believe and know me to be a Man of much greater Virtue than *Æschines*, to be of a better Descent, and, in a Word, (to say nothing that may give Offence), to be no way inferior to any of the middling Rank of People; then, give no manner of Credit to any other of his Allegations; for, they will all, upon Examination, appear to be equally fictitious: But preserve for me the same Good-will now, that you have always shewn me heretofore, upon many the like Prosecutions. Artful as you are, *Æschines*, it was a very great Weakness in you to imagine, that I would set my self wholly to answer your Ribaldry, and personal Reproaches, and, by that Means, pass over in Silence my publick Actions, and the many Services I have done my Country. No; I am not yet arrived to such a Pitch of Madness. I will therefore immediately enter upon my publick Conduct, which you have so maliciously traduced and aspersed; and then, if my Judges will vouchsafe to grant me their Attention, I will answer those (f) impertinent Calumnies, which you have had the Insolence and Assurance to heap up against me.

6. I stand indeed impeached of many great and grievous Crimes; of Crimes, for some of which, our Laws have ordained very great, and even the highest Punishments. Nay, the very Design of the present Prosecution carries in it the Malignity of an Enemy, Insolence, Calumny, and foul Reproach, together with

(a) Those impertinent Calumnies] *πομπή*, *convicium*. This is a Word borrowed from those Persons, who in the Bacchanalian Processions, were carried about in Waggons, in great Pomp, and took Liberty from thence to ridicule and revile all they met. It is also a Term used by the Lawyers. *Suid.* all

all manner of Disgrace and Infamy. But, were I really guilty of those high Crimes and Misdemeanours with which I am charged, the State would be so unable to lay a Punishment upon me commensurate to them, that it could not possibly inflict one which would bear even the least Proportion to my Demerits. It is true indeed, no Man should be debarred the Liberty of applying himself to the People, and speaking the Sentiments of his Mind with Freedom; but then, it is as true, that private Envy, or particular Resentment, should never be the Motives of such a Proceeding. For this, I call all the Gods to witness it, O *Athenians*, is neither fair, nor just, nor agreeable to the Laws of our Constitution. But, if he saw me committing such mighty Crimes against the State, as he has now in a (b) copious and tragick Strain informed you, he should, as the Laws direct, have had me immediately punished upon the Commission of them. If he saw me doing any Thing so notoriously injurious to the Publick, as to deserve an Information against me, he should have immediately given Information of it, and by this Means have brought me to a Tryal before you. Or if he saw me proposing any Thing contrary to the established Laws, he should have instantly prosecuted me for the Infringement of them. But certainly, he can, by no Means, prosecute *Ctesiphon* on my Account: For had he imagined he could have convicted me, he would never have preferred this Accusation against him. And if he had seen me committing these, or any other the like terrible Crimes against you, there were Laws there were Punishments, there were Prosecutions, and Courts of Justice, which would have laid very great and grievous Penalties for them all upon me, to which every one that pleased, might have had Recourse. Had he be-

(a) In a copious and tragick Strain] *ἑρπυλώδης*. Here *Demosthenes* alludes either to *Æschines* his having been an Actor upon the Stage; or to his pompous manner of accusing him.

haved himself thus, and proceeded against me in this Manner, then indeed his present Accusation would have appeared consistent with his former Conduct. But since, instead of insisting upon the fair and legal Method of Proceeding, and convicting me of Crimes, for which he should have prosecuted me the very Instant they were committed, he now lays before you an Accusation pieced up of Calumnies, Scandals, and scurrilous Invectives concerning Matters long since transacted; in this he manifestly discovers that he is barely (a) acting a Part. For, at the same time that he brings an innocent Person into Judgment, he scruples not openly to impeach me : And though the whole Strain of the Accusation renders it plain, notwithstanding his Pretences, that his Malice is entirely levelled at me, yet without once daring to fall directly upon me, he evidently endeavours to procure the Disgrace of another. And therefore, O *Athenians*, amongst many other Arguments, which might justly be offered in Defence of *Ctesiphon* on this Occasion, this I think highly necessary to be mentioned, that whatever Controversy there is betwixt *Eschines* and me, we should in Justice confine it to our selves, without seeking to involve any other Person in the pernicious Consequences of it : For this would be the Height of Injustice.

7. From what has been already offered, it may be easily seen, that the chief Articles of this Impeachment are neither founded upon Equity, nor Truth : Yet I will strictly examine every one of them separately, but those more particularly, which regard the Peace, and my Embassy into *Macedon*, wherein he has falsely laid to my Charge those very Things, which

(a) *Acting a Part*] *ὑποκριτής* *hypokritēs*. Perhaps he insinuates, that this was a very mean Part too. For, when he was an Actor, he played only a Third, or some low Character in the *Drama*; and is therefore elsewhere called, *τρίτατος* *tritatos*.

he himself has acted in Conjunction with *Philocrates*. To this End, it will be no less necessary for me than convenient for you, O *Athenians*, to remind you of the State and Situation of the Affairs of those Times, that from thence to the present, you may behold each Transaction in its proper Period. When the *Phocian* War was kindled, (not by me, for I was not then concerned in the Affairs of the Publick), you were at first disposed to have given the *Phocians* no Disturbance, though you saw they had acted unjustly by you in many Instances; but you would have been well pleased at any Thing that might have happened to the Disadvantage of the *Thebans*; neither indeed would your Resentment upon this Head have been unreasonable or unjust: Because they were too much elated with the Victory which they gained (i) at *Leuctra*. In the next Place, all *Peloponnesus* was divided into Factions. The Enemies of the *Spartans* could not so far prevail, as to destroy them; neither did those whom the (2) *Lacedæmonians* had formerly appointed Governours in several Cities, any longer maintain their Authority; but irreconcilable Discord, Strife, and Confusion, universally reigned amongst them. *Philip* perceiving all this, (for it was easily perceived), bestows large Bribes upon the Traytors of every State, and by this Means, threw them all into the utmost Confusion and Disorder. Then, while some were beguiled, and others remained improvident, he took Care to furnish himself with every Thing requisite to carry on his Designs; and thus by Degrees arrived to such

(a) *Leuctra*] A Town in *Beotia*, betwixt *Plataea* and *Thespiae*. *Strabo*, l. 9. made famous by a Battle, wherein *Epaminondas* the *Theban* beat the *Lacedæmonians* commanded by *Cleombrotus*, and gave them so mortal a Blow, that they lost the Superiority of *Greece* in the 102d Olympiad, and were

never after able to recover it. *Xenoph.* *Diod.*

(b) *The Lacedæmonians*] *Lacedæmon*, called also *Sparta*, the head City of *Laconia*, on the West-Side of the River *Eurotas*, remote from the Sea, beneath the Mountain *Taygetus*. *Strab.* l. 8.

a Pitch of Power, as to *threaten all Greece with Ruin*. But, when it evidently appeared, that the *Thebans*, who, a little before, were so insolent and haughty, but now by the length of the War, reduced to the greatest Extremities, would be under a Necessity of flying to you for Protection; then *Philip*, to hinder this, and obstruct an Alliance betwixt the two States, promised you Peace, and them Succour. What then was it that conspired with his Endeavours, to make you thus, as it were, by your own Consent, deceive your selves? We must impute it either to the Cowardice of the rest of the *Greeks*, or to their Ignorance, or both; who, though they saw you bearing the Burthen of a long and uninterrupted War, and this, for the common Good of all *Greece*, as the Event has plainly shewn; yet neither furnished you with Men, nor Money, nor any other Necessaries; and therefore you, in a just and reasonable Resentment of this Treatment, readily hearkened to the Proposals of *Philip*.

8. The Peace therefore which was then made, was entered into, upon these Considerations, and was not, as my Accuser has maliciously asserted, an Act of mine. On the contrary, the base Injustice, and corrupt Proceedings of these Traytors, with regard to this Matter, will be found, upon a proper Enquiry, to be the Occasion of the present Posture of our Affairs. The sole Reason that engages me to be so particular in mentioning and examining into all these Matters, is, purely to carry you into the true State of the Case: For, should any flagrant Injustice or Mismanagement appear therein, I am, in no Sort, concerned in them. For, the first Man who proposed and declared for the Peace, was *Aristodemus* the Actor; and he who seconded it, and drew up the Decree, being bribed with him for that purpose, was *Philocrates* the (a) *Agnu-*

(a) *The Agnusian*] *Agnus*, a Borough of *Attica*.

lian, who, notwithstanding (b) your most vehement and false Assertions to the contrary, was your Accomplice, *Æschines*, and not mine. And those who concurred in this Vote, whatever were their Motives, (for that I at present omit), were *Eubulus* and *Cephi-sophon*, but I was not, even in the least, concerned in this Affair. But, though Matters stand thus, and the Truth of this Case is so glaring, yet is he arrived to such a Pitch of Impudence, that he even dares to charge me, not only with being the Author of that Peace, but also, with hindering the Republick from making it with the common Consent of all the States of *Greece*. But did you O by what Name shall I apply my self to you ! Did you, though present at that time, express the least Sign of Resentment at the Injuries which you saw me doing to the Commonwealth, by depriving it of so great Advantages, and so important an Alliance, as you have now pompously and copiously represented them ? Or did you then stand up, and declare the Nature of those Crimes, of which you now accuse me ? Had I been hired by *Philip* to obstruct the Union of all the *Greeks*, Silence was not then your Business ; you should have cryed out, you should have testified against me, and discovered the whole Matter to your Fellow-Citizens. But you have done nothing like this, nor has any Man ever heard you speak one Word upon the Subject. For, there was no Embassy at that time sent to any of the *Greeks*. Their Intentions were all known to us long before : So that, with relation to this whole Matter, he has not offered one Word of Truth. But besides this, he basely traduces the Commonwealth by his false Assertions : For, if you stirred up the rest of the *Greeks* to make War upon *Philip*, and at the same

(b) Notwithstanding your most vehement and false Assertions to the contrary] It is in the Original, *αὐτὸν διαφράζεις ψευδομένως*, though you should lye till you burst. A Phrase which sounds so ill, that I have taken Liberty to render it otherwise.

time sent Embassadors to treat with him about a Peace, you (a) negotiated the Affair of an *Eurybatus*, not of *Athens*, and acquitted not your selves, either like good Citizens, or honest Men. But this is not the Case; no, no, it is not: For, to what End would you send Embassadors at that Juncture to all the States of *Greece*? Was it to determine them to enter into a Peace? They all enjoyed it. Was it to rouse them up to War? But you your selves were treating for Peace. From whence it follows, that I was so far from being the principal Promoter, that I could not, in any respect, be the Author of that first Peace: Nor will any other of those fictitious Articles exhibited against me, be upon Examination found, to be better supported.

9. After the Commonwealth had concluded the Peace, here again consider the Designs and Actions of us both, with regard to the Publick: For, from thence you will easily discern, who contended most to advance the Interest of *Philip*, and who devoted all his Actions to your Service, and endeavoured most to promote the Good of his Country. For my Part, I proposed a Decree in the Senate, enjoining your Embassadors to sail with all possible Expedition to *Philip*, in whatsoever Place they should hear he was, and receive his Oath. But they, notwithstanding I had got it passed, were unwilling to obey the Injunctions of it. What the Consequence of this was, O *Athenians*, I will now inform you. It was *Philip's* Interest to spin out the Time, betwixt his entering into the Treaty, and the taking his Oath, to as great a Length as pos-

[(a) You negotiated the Affair of an *Eurybatus*.] The Scholiast, from *Euphorus*, says, that *Eurybatus* an *Ephesian*, being employed by *Cræsus* to list Foreigners into his Service in order to make War upon the *Persians*, be-

trayed *Cræsus*, and went over to *Cyrus*. *Lucian* in his *Pseudom*: Mentions another consummate Knave of this Name, and speaks of him proverbially, as a *Ne plus ultra* of villainous Subtilty.

fible; but it was your's, that he should be immediately sworn. For what Reason? Because you had not only from the Day that you had sworn to maintain the Peace, but even from the Instant that you entertained any Hopes of it, entirely laid aside all warlike Preparations. But he, Artful as he was, all along concluded, (and in Reality so it proved), that whatever he should take from the Commonwealth, during this Interval of Time, he might afterwards hold undisturbed, upon Presumption that no Body would break the Peace upon such Considerations. All this, O Men of *Athens*, I well foresaw, and upon the maturest Deliberation decreed, that they should sail to *Philip* where-ever he was, and take his Oath with all imaginable Speed, to the End, that the Ratifications might be exchanged, while the *Thracians*, your Allies, were as yet in Possession of *Serrium*, *Myrtium*, and *Ergiske*, Places, which *Æschines* now so little (a) esteems, that he maliciously makes them the Subject of his Drollery and Sport. Had this been done, *Philip* could not have got Possession of those important Places, which, in Effect, rendered him Master of *Thrace*, nor of that Treasure, and those Armies, which have

(a) Which *Æschines* now so little esteems, that he maliciously makes them the Subject of his Drollery and Sport.] The Original runs thus, τα χωρία ταῦθ', ἀνὺν ἔτος δέσουρε, rendered thus by the Oxford Editors, *Loca ea quæ iste, i. e. Philippus, nunc demolitus est*, a Passage, in my Apprehension, entirely mistaken by them. *Æschines* in the thirtieth Paragraph of his Oration, after he had accused *Demosthenes* of being a Traytor, and an incendiary, cries out in a Drolling and reproachful Manner, 'He O *Athenians*, is the Man, who first discovered the *Serrian*

Wall, and *Doriscus*, and *Ergiske*, and *Murgiske*, and *Ganides*, and *Ganides*, Places, whose very Names were never so much as heard of before. This Passage *Demosthenes* has here in View, and the Text it self greatly favours it. For the Word ἔτος, may as well be referred to *Æschines*, as to *Philip*; and the Word δέσουρε, signifies, *obtrecto, calumnior, graviter reprehendo*; in which Sense it is used in several other Places by our Orator, but no where that I can remember, in the Sense of the Oxford Gentlemen.

since

since enabled him, so easily to carry on his other Designs. Of this Decree, *Æschines* has made no mention, nor ordered it to be read ; but bitterly inveighs against me, for insisting in the Senate, upon the Necessity of introducing his Embassadors to you. But, what should I have done in this Case? Should I not have ordered those Men to be introduced, who came hither with no other Intent than to confer with you? Or should I have forbidden the Master of the Ceremonies to give them a Seat in the Theatre, when they might have purchased one at the poor Price of two *Oboli*, even though it had not been ordered? Ought I to have been careful of preserving the petty Interests of the State, or to have sold, as those Traytors did, the Principal to *Philip*? No surely. Take therefore and read this Decree, which he, though perfectly well acquainted with it, has passed over in Silence.

The DECREE.

In the Archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the last Day of the Month Hecatombæon, the Pandionian Tribe exercising the Prytannick Power, Demosthenes, the Son of Demosthenes, spoke thus. Whereas Philip hath sent Embassadors to the People of Athens to negotiate a Peace, and hath entered into a Publick Treaty with them: It is therefore resolved both by Senate and People, in order to ratifie the said Peace, agreed to by the People in the first General Assembly held upon it, that five Embassadors be elected out of the whole Body of the Athenians, and that after such Election, they go, without any manner of Delay to Philip, in whatsoever Place they shall hear he is, and immediately receive his Oath, and give him theirs, for the Ratification of the aforesaid Treaty, entered into both by him and the People of Athens, including the Confederates of both. The Embassadors chosen upon that Occasion

sion were Eubulus the Anaphlystian, Æschines the (a) Cothocidean, Cephisophon the (b) Rhamnufian, Democrates the (c) Phlyafian, and Cleon the Cothocidean.

10. After I had passed this Decree, highly advantageous at that Juncture to our Commonwealth, but greatly prejudicial to the Interests of *Philip*; these worthy Embassadors were so little solicitous about the Execution of it, that they loitered away three whole Months in *Macedon*, till *Philip's* Return from *Thrace*, where he had laid all waste before him; whereas, they might in Ten, or rather in the Space of three or four Days, have gone to the (d) *Hellespont*, and by receiving his Oath, have saved a great many Places from Ruin, before he had reduced them. For, he would not have offered to seize on those Places in our Presence; or if he had, we would not have sworn him; so that, by this Means, he would have been plunged into a War, and not have enjoyed both Peace, and his Conquests together. Such was the Baseness and Treachery of *Philip*; and such the Corruption and mercenary Practices of these wicked and abandoned Traytors, in this Embassie; for which, as I then did, so I now do, and shall for ever declare my self to be their constant Opponent, and implacable Enemy.

11. Behold now another Piece of Villany, yet greater, and more outrageous than This, which immediately followed. After *Philip* had declared he would ratifie the Peace, having first seized upon *Thrace* by Means of your Embassadors Disobedience to my Decree, he again bribes them not to leave *Macedon*, till he had all Things in a Readiness for his intended Ex-

(a) [The Cothocidean] *Cothocis*, | das to be the Birth-place of *Euripides* the Poet.

(b) [The Rhamnufian] *Rham-* | (d) *Hellespont*] a narrow Sea
nus, an Attick Borough. | at *Byzantium*, dividing *Europe*

(c) [The Phlyafian] *Phlya*, a | from *Asia*.
Borough of *Attica*, said by *Sui-*

pedition against the *Phocians*. This he did, to prevent them from sending you any Information of his Design to take the Field against them, lest you should march to their Assistance with all your Forces, or by sending your Fleet expeditiously to the *Pylæ*, should again, as you had before done, shut up (a) *Portbmus* against him. He bribes, I say, these Embassadors, to give you an Account of this Expedition, the very Moment he had entered the *Pylæ*, when it was absolutely out of your Power either to prevent or remedy it. Yet *Philip*, notwithstanding he had thus seized the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, was so fearful and full of Trouble, lest you, upon the Intelligence given you, should break all his Measures, by decreeing Succours to the *Phocians*, before he should have time enough to accomplish their utter Destruction, that he hires this Wretch again, not jointly with the other Embassadors, but separately and alone, to give you such Information, and represent Matters to you in such a Light, as has proved the total Ruin of all our Affairs.

12. Now, O *Athenians*, I must not only require, but earnestly entreat you to remember, through the whole Course of this Debate, That had *Æschines* confined himself to the Impeachment which he brought against me, I would also have made my Defence without offering any thing that was foreign to it. But, since he has heaped up numberless Calumnies, and Reproaches of all Kinds against me, it is incumbent upon me, briefly to answer every Article that he lays to my Charge. What therefore was the Substance of the Speech which he then made, that has since proved so fatal to all our Affairs? Why, “ That we ought not to be alarmed at *Philip*’s entering the *Pylæ*; that every thing would succeed according to your Desire, provided you would remain silent

(a) *Portbmus*] a very important Place in *Eubæa* upon the *Ægean* Sea.

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“ and unactive ; that you would hear within two or
 “ three Days, that he was become a Friend to those,
 “ against whom he had undertaken this Expedition ;
 “ and an Enemy to those, with whom he had for-
 “ merly been in Friendship : For, it is not by Pro-
 “ fessions, said he, (smoothly Glossing it), that Friend-
 “ ships are established, but by the Union of Interests:
 “ And in this Case, it is equally the Interest of *Phi-*
 “ *lip*, and of the *Phocians*, as well as yours, to be
 “ delivered from the Stupidity and Insolence of the
 “ *Thebans*. ” This fine Speech was then very rea-
 dily listened to, by some among us, because we were
 at Enmity with the *Thebans*. But what immediately
 ensued ? Why, in a very short Time, the unfortu-
 nate *Phocians* are utterly destroyed, and their Cities
 razed to the Ground ; but you, remaining silent and
 unactive by the Perswasions of this Traytor, are soon
 after forced to remove all your Effects out of your
 Fields, while he at the same Time received his Gold,
 as the Reward of his Treachery. And, to compleat all ;
 our Commonwealth incurred the Displeasure both of
 the *Thebans* and *Thessalians* by this Conduct ; while
Philip, on the contrary, obtained, for his Actions and
 Management, their Favour and Esteem. For the
 Truth of these Things I appeal to the Decree of *Ca-*
listhenes, and to *Philip's* Letter, from both which,
 the whole Matter will abundantly appear. Read

The D E C R E E.

*In the Archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the Twenty-
 first Day of the Month Mæmacterion, the (a) General*

(a) <i>The General Assembly be- ing extraordinarily summoned</i>] <i>Συνκλητοὶ Ἐκκλησίαι</i>. Were so called, ἀπὸ τῆς συσκαλεῖν, because the People were summoned to-	gether upon extraordinary Occa- sions; whereas in the <i>Kyriai</i>, they met of their own Accord, without receiving any Notice from the Magistrates. <i>Ulpian</i>.
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Assembly

Assembly being extraordinarily summoned, pursuant to the Advice and Resolution of the Generals, Prytanes, and Senate ; Calisthenes, the Son of Eleonicus the (a) Phalerean, spoke thus. Let no Athenian, under any Pretence whatsoever, continue in the Fields by Night, but let every one remain either in the City, or the (b) Piræus, except such as are appointed to serve in Garrisons ; and as to such, let every one of them keep the Post allotted him without absenting himself either by Night or by Day. Whoever disobeys this Decree, shall incur the Penalties ordained for Traytors, unless he can prove that he lay under an absolute Necessity of disobeying it ; and of this Necessity, let the (c) General, the Pay-master, and the Clerk of the Senate, be the Judges. Let every thing be removed out of the Fields with all possible Expedition. Let every thing, within an hundred and twenty Furlongs distance, be carried into the City, or the Piræus, but let whatever lies beyond that Distance, be carried in-

(a) *The Phalerean*] Phaleron, a Maritime Town of Attica, once the Haven of Athens, and Birth-place of Demetrius the Phalerean, the Disciple of Theophrastus.

(b) *Piræus.*] The chief Harbour of the City of Athens, containing three Docks, and about Thirty-five or forty Stadia distant from the City, before the Building of the long Walls by Themistocles.

(c) *Let the General*] *στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν*. There were ten Generals in Athens, one chosen out of each Tribe, as Plutarch informs us, (though this does not appear to have been constantly practised), who enjoyed the Supreme Command by Days. But tho' the ancient Number was Elected, yet, in process of Time, it was not looked upon as necessary or expedient for so many

Generals to be sent with equal Power to manage military Affairs; and therefore one, two, or more were dispatched to that Service, as Occasion required ; and the rest were employed about Civil Business.—The *στρατηγός* therefore, simply so called, was a Name indifferently given to any of the ten Generals at first, and afterwards to any Persons invested either with Sacred or Civil Authority ; but the *στρατηγός ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν*, seems to have been a Name peculiarly appropriated to the General whose Turn it was to be in actual Command, in order to distinguish him from the rest. He listed and disbanded Soldiers, as there was Occasion: And in short, had the whole Management of War devolved upon him during his Continuance in that Post. *Potter's Ant.*

to (a) Eleufis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnus, and Sunium. Thus fpoke *Calisthenes* the *Phalerean*.

Were thefe the Expectations which you conceived upon your entering into the Peace? Or were thefe the Promifes, which that Venal Wretch was pleafed to make you? But come, read the Letter, which, after this, *Philip* himfelf wrote to us.

PHILIP'S LETTER.

Philip King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Athens, Greeting. Know, That we have pafsed the Streights of Thermopylæ, and conquered Phocis. We have put Garrifons into fuch Towns, as voluntarily furrendered, and thofe that refufed to fubmit, we have carried by Storm, made Slaves of the Inhabitants, and levelled them with the Ground. But being informed, that you are making Preparation to affift the Phocians, I have wrote to you, to the end, that you may not give your felves too much Trouble upon this Head. For, in one Word, you feem to me to act a very unjuft and extravagant Part, who, though you have concluded a Peace with me, are yet making Preparations to march againft me; and that, though the Phocians are not at all comprehended in our Treaty. Wherefore, if you will not continue firm to your Agreement, you fhall find me backward in nothing, but in being the firft Aggreffor.

13. You hear how plainly *Philip* discovers his Defigns, and warns his Confederates, to this Purpofe, in this very Letter, which he has fent to you. ‘ I have done this in Spite of the People of *Athens*, and to their great Mortification; and therefore, if you are wife, O *Thebans* and *Theffalians*, you will regard them as your Enemies, and me as your Friend’. Not,

(a) *Eleufis, Phyle, Aphidna, &c.*] Were all *Attick* Boroughs.
that

that he has expressed himself exactly in these Terms, but certain it is, that thus he would be understood. By this Method therefore, he so far imposed upon their Credulity, that, from that time forward, they neither foresaw nor apprehended any Evils that might befall them, but suffered him to prosecute all his ambitious Designs without Control; whence it is, that the unfortunate *Thebans* are plunged into the grievous Calamities, which they now suffer. But the Man, who assisted, and greatly laboured to gain him this fatal Credit; the Man, who sent you such false Representations, and so grossly imposed upon you; this is He, who now laments the Misfortunes of the *Thebans*, and represents them as highly worthy of Pity; whereas he himself is the Author of all the Miseries, in which, not only the *Phocians*, but all the rest of *Greece*, are this Day involved. Yet you, *Æschines*, you truly are sorry for these Misfortunes, and greatly commiserate the Condition of the *Thebans*, though it is undeniably certain, that you have great Possessions in *Bœotia*, and cultivate the very Lands which actually belonged to that unfortunate People. But as for me, certainly it must give me just Reason to rejoice, to be so suddenly impeached by the very Person, who was the Author of all these Calamities.

14. But I am now fallen upon Matters, which perhaps I shall have a more convenient Opportunity of speaking to hereafter. I return therefore to shew, that the base Corruption and perfidious Dealings of these Men, have been the Cause of the present Unfortunate Situation of Affairs. For, after *Philip* had imposed upon you through the Assistance of those Embassadors, who had hired themselves to make false Representations of Things to you; and had also overreached the unfortunate *Phocians*, whose Cities he has utterly destroyed, What then ensued? Why, the wretched *Thessalians*, and the stupid *Thebans* regarded *Philip* as their Friend, their Benefactor, and Deliverer.

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Deliverer. In short ; He was every Thing to them ; neither would they hearken to any one, who would in the least endeavour to insinuate the contrary. But, notwithstanding you suspected, and were highly dissatisfied at his Proceedings, yet were you obliged to maintain the Peace ; for it was not possible for you singly to make any sort of successful Opposition. The other States of *Greece* being likewise no less imposed upon than you, and disappointed of all their Hopes, were willing, however, to preserve the Peace, though *Philip* had, for a long time, in some respects, committed Hostilities against them. For, when he, ranging up and down, had subdued the (a) *Illyrians*, (b) *Triballians*, and even some of the *Greeks* themselves ; when he had raised himself a very great and powerful Army ; and corrupted some of those in our several States, who, upon the Peace, took a Tour to *Macedon*, of which Number *Æschines* was one ; then it was, that he made War upon all those against whom he had made so great Preparations. Whether they were apprehensive of this Event, or not, is a Question, in which I am no way concerned. But this I affirm, that I both foretold, and constantly forewarned you of it, not only at *Athens*, but in every other Place, to which I was sent with the Character of Ambassador. But, all the States of *Greece* were distempered. The Ministers, and those at the Helm, turned Pensioners and Traytors. The private Gentlemen and common People, partly foresaw not the Event, and were partly too much addicted to Idleness, and drowned in Luxury ; so that, the Whole were reduced to a most languishing Condition. Particular Persons flattered themselves, that they should come to no Damage, but that they might, whenever they

(a) *The Illyrians*] a People | or *Scardus*, and the River *Dri-*
Living on the *East-side* of *Mace-* | *lon*.
don, from which they were di- | (b) *Triballians*] a People bor-
vided by the Mountain *Scodrus* | dering on *Thrace*.

pleased,

pleased, secure their own Wealth, at the Hazard of others. And thus, through supine Negligence and unseasonable Inactivity, it is, in my Opinion, come to pass, that not only the common People have lost their Liberty, but the Leaders and great Men, who hoped to make Sale of every thing but themselves, have found themselves the first that have been bought. For now, instead of the Titles of *Friends* and *Guests*, with which they were usually distinguished whilst kept in Pay, they hear themselves branded with the odious Names of base Flatterers, Enemies to the Gods, and with many others of the same kind, which they, and their Actions justly deserve.

15. For, no Man in the World, O Men of *Athens*, lays out his Treasure in Bribery, with a View to the Traytor's Interest, nor does he, when once possessed of his purchased Ambition, ever after use him as an Adviser in any other Matter. If this were the Case, then the Condition of a Traytor would be the happiest among Men. But it is not so; no, no, it is not, but quite the Reverse. For what Reason? Because every Usurper, when once he has accomplished his Designs, becomes the Lord and Master of those who betrayed their Country into his Hands: Having had full Experience of their Wickedness, from that Time forward, they commence the Objects of his Hatred, Distrust, and Reproach. And thus ought you likewise to reason in this Case. For, though the Time of these Transactions is now passed, yet among prudent Men, no Time is unseasonable to reflect upon such Conjectures. No longer was *Lasthenes* greeted as the Friend of *Philip*, after he had betrayed (a) *Olynthus*: No longer was *Timolaus*, after he had destroyed *Thebes*: No longer were *Eudicus* and *Simus*, the (b) *Larissæans*, after they had brought *Thessaly* into his Subjection. And yet, though these

(a) *Olynthus*] a City of the *Bottiaans*, about 60 Furlongs from *Potidaea*. *Hered. L. 8.*

(b) *The Larissæans*] *Larissa*, a City of *Thessaly*, on the River *Peneus*. *Strab. L. 9.*

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Men are driven into Banishment, are become the Universal Scorn of Mankind, and exposed to all kinds of Reproaches and Misfortunes, we see the whole World still teeming with such Monsters. What is *Aristratus* at (a) *Sicyon*? What is *Perilaus* at (b) *Megara*? Are they not both of them despised, and sunk into the lowest Degree of Contempt? So that, it is plain, *Æschines*, that you, and all such Traytors, owe your Thanks to those Persons, who, from a tender Regard to their Country, most strenuously oppose you and your wicked Designs; since in reality it is to them that you are indebted for the Continuance of your Salaries and Pensions. It is only by Means of a Majority of honest Men, who bravely oppose your pernicious Counsels, that you yet remain both safe, and in full Pay. For, had your own Measures succeeded, you must have been long since laid aside, and your Employment abolished.

16. I could add a great deal more relating to the Affairs of those Times, Did not what I have already offered, seem more than sufficient. His, however, be the Blame, who, having defiled me (c) with his sottish Ribaldry, hath obliged me to wipe off his base and wicked Aspersions before such of you, as were too young to remember those Transactions. Many of

(a) *Sicyon*,] a City of *Peloponnesus*, between *Corinth* and *Achaia*. *Paus.* in *Corinth*.

(b) *Megara*] a City bordering on *Attica* at *Eleusis*. *Paus.* in *Attic*.

(c) *With his sottish Ribaldry*.] At the Grand *Panegyries*, it was usual for the *Athenians* to detach themselves into Drinking Parties, and to sit it out as long as the Assembly lasted, which was often till the next Day. Whoever got drunk, and fell asleep before he emptied his Flag-

gon, the next Morning, the Company poured what was left upon his Head. This merry Trick was called, *ἑωλ' ἡμερσία*, from *ἑωλος*, *H sternus*, & *ἡμερσία*, *miscro. Schol.* From this ridiculous Ceremony of crowning a weak Brother, *Demosthenes* borrows an Allusion of the utmost Contempt. He artfully suggests that what *Æschines* had offered was nothing, but "The dead Remains of a sottish Ribaldry, which ought to have been thrown upon his own Pate.

you

you indeed have Reason to be offended, who, before I began to speak, were very well acquainted with his mercenary Dealings, which he artfully endeavours to cover over with the specious Titles of Friendship and Hospitality ; as just now, speaking of me, he was pleased to say, [‘ He, who reproaches me with being the Guest of *Alexander*.] I reproach you with being the Guest of *Alexander* ! How didst thou acquire, or by what Means didst thou ever merit that Honour ? Nor *Philip*’s Guest, nor *Alexander*’s Friend did I ever stile thee. No ; I could not fall into such a Frenzie, unless I were weak enough to imagine it Propriety to call the labouring Hind, and other hireling Drudges, their Master’s Friends and Guests. Flatter not thy self so much. What then did I stile thee ? Why, I called thee the Hireling of *Philip* formerly ; and now I call thee *Alexander*’s ; and so does all this great Assembly. If thou doubtest it, do but put the Question to them ; or I will do it for thee. Hear then, O ye Men of *Athens*, whether do you esteem *Æschines* to be the Hireling, or Guest of *Alexander* ?———Hearest thou not their Answer ?——— But now I return to make my Defence against the Articles of the Accusation, and to give you the Detail of my own Proceedings, that *Æschines*, though he already well knows it, may publickly hear upon what Account it is, that I esteem my self worthy not only of these Honours, but even of greater Rewards than have been yet decreed me. For that Purpose, I desire the Impeachment it self may be read.

The Impeachment.

17. **I**N the Archonship of Chærondas, on the Sixth Day of the Month Elaphebolion, *Æschines* the Cothocidean, the Son of Atrometus, exhibited before the Archon an Impeachment against Ctesiphon the Son of

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of Leosthenes the Anaphlystian, for proposing a Decree contrary to the old and established Laws of this Republick, enjoyning, That Demosthenes, the Son of Demosthenes the Pæanean, should be honoured with a Crown of Gold; and that Proclamation thereof should be made at the grand Festivals of Bacchus in the publick Theatre, during the Representation of the new Tragedies; and declaring moreover, that the People crown the said Demosthenes upon account of his Virtue, and the Good-will which he has constantly born, as well to the Greeks in general, as to the People of Athens in particular; and for the Courage and Intrepidity he has always shewn in promoting their Welfare, not only by his Words, but by all his Actions, accompanied with a most ready Disposition to all Acts of Beneficence and Generosity; Which Assertions are all manifestly false, and proposed by him in direct Violation of our fundamental Laws; for, the Laws, in the first Place, positively ordain, that no Falsehood be recorded in the publick Archives; and, in the next, that no Man be honoured with a Crown, who stands accountable for the Management of any Office, before he gives up and passes his Accounts: But Demosthenes was then Surveyor of the Walls, and Treasurer also of the Theatrical Money. Moreover, the Laws forbid Proclamation of any Crown to be made at the great Feasts of Bacchus, in the Theatre, during the Representation of the new Tragedies; but positively enjoin, that if the Senate bestow the Crown, then it shall be proclaimed precisely in the Senate-House; but if the People, that then it shall be proclaimed in the (a) Pnyx, in the general Assembly. The

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(a) *In the Pnyx*] This was a Place near the Citadel, so called, *δια τὸ πεπυκνωθῆναι τοὺς λίθοις, ἢ τοὺς καθέδρους, ἢ δια τὸ πεπυκνωθῆναι ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς βουλευτάς* Because it was filled with Stones, or Seats set close together, or from the Crowds of Men in the

Assemblies, and therefore *πυκνότης* is by *Aristophanes* (Schol. *Acarn.*) taken for the thronging and pressing of a Multitude. It was remarkable for nothing more than the Meaness of its Buildings and Furniture, whereby in Ages that affected Gayety and Splendor,

Mulct, Fifty Talents, the Witnesses, Cephisophon, the Son of Cephisophon the Rhamnufian; and Cleon, the Son of Cleon the Cothocidean.

18. This, O Men of *Athens*, is what he urges against the Decree made in my Favour. But, I am in hopes to make it evident to you, even from his own Allegations, that I am unblameable in every Respect: And in doing this, I shall pursue the very same Method, that has been made use of against me, and speak to every Article in order, without willingly omitting the smallest Circumstance. In regard then, it is asserted in the Decree, "That I have constantly endeavoured the Good of the *Athenian* People in all my Words and Actions, and have always shewn my self ready to do every thing in my Power to promote their Welfare"; and that for this Reason it is, that these Praises have been conferred upon me; I take it for granted, that the whole Dispute here, turns upon my publick Administration; and when that has been thoroughly examined, it will then appear, whether *Ctesiphon* has preferred a just and reasonable Decree, or not. As to his granting me the Crown, without the Insertion of the Clause, ['After he shall have given up his Accounts'], and likewise ordering the Donation to be proclaimed in the Theatre; these Circumstances also, as I apprehend, oblige me to have Recourse to my publick Administrations; since it is only from thence that it can be gathered, whether I have merited such distinguishing Honours, or not. And having shewn this, it will then be incumbent upon me to produce the Laws that

dor, it remained a Monument of the ancient Simplicity. *Pol. L. 8.* The Theatre of *Bacchus*, in later times, was the usual Place, in which the Assemblies were held; but even then, the *Πρυτανειον* was not wholly forsaken, it being against Law to decree any Man a Crown, or elect any of the Magistrates in any other Place, as *Pollux*; or at least, the *Στρατιωτικον*, as *Hesychius*, reports.

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impower *Ctesiphon* to prefer such a Decree. And in this just and simple Manner is it, O Men of *Athens*, that I am determined to make my Defence. I proceed therefore to give an Account of my publick Actions. And here let no one suspect me of any Design to evade the Charge brought against me, by my entering into a Detail of all that I have both said and done for the Interest and Service of *Greece*. For, he who arraigns that part of the Decree, wherein "all my Words and Actions are pronounced to be praise-worthy; and who prosecutes this as a Falshood; he it is, who, by forming such an Accusation, has obliged me to give so particular an Account, both of all my private Actions, and publick Administration. But, in regard, amongst the many and various Methods of Policy used in the World, I have been only conversant with those that are adapted to the Constitution of *Greece*; it is therefore proper, that all my Reasonings and Arguments should be drawn from thence only.

19. I conceive then, as I am no wise concerned in, so I should take no manner of Notice of, any of *Philip's* Acquisitions or Usurpations, that happened not only before I had any Hand in the Administration, but even before I had spoke so much as one Word in the publick Assemblies of the People. But, whatever I have hindered him from effecting, since my Entrance upon publick Affairs, of that will I remind you, and give you a very particular Account, after I have premised the following Particulars.

One Thing, O Men of *Athens*, gave *Philip* a prodigious Advantage; namely, that, at that Juncture, there appeared among the *Greeks*, not in this, or the other State, but over the whole Country, such a vast Number of Traytors, corrupt Hirelings, and abandoned Miscreants, as had not been known before

in the Memory of Man. By the Assistance and Endeavours of these Men, and their Associates, he inflamed the Differences already made among the *Greeks*, and raised their mutual Jealousies and Animosities to the highest Pitch. Some he deluded, some he bribed, and others he debauched into his Measures at any Rate. In short, while it was the common Interest of them all, to prevent his growing Greatness, he had the Art to divide them into a thousand different Factions. Things being in this Posture, and all the *Greeks* yet insensible of the near Approaches of the gathering Storm, think with your selves, O Men of *Athens*, what were the Measures necessary to be taken and pursued by this Commonwealth in so dangerous a Crisis, and let me be accountable for them. For I it was, who, at that Juncture, had the principal Management, and bore the great Burthen of the publick Business.

20. What Methods then, *Æschines*, did it become this Commonwealth to have taken? Ought the People of *Athens*, forgetful of their native Magnanimity, and regardless of their antient Reputation, to have joined with the *Thessalians*, and (1) *Dolopians*, in promoting *Philip's* Designs on the Liberty of *Greece*, and subverting those Rights so gloriously transmitted down to them by their brave Forefathers; or the contrary? What can be more shocking than to suppose them wanting in their Endeavours to prevent so great a Danger, after having so long foreseen it, and most probably been greatly alarmed with it? And I would fain ask this forward Censor of my Conduct, which Party would he have had this State to have espoused? Whether theirs, who occasioned all these Calamities and Disgraces amongst the *Greeks*, among whom we may justly

(a) *Dolopians*] *Dolopia*, a Region on the South-side of the Hill *Pindus*, on the North of the *Amphilochians*, and bordering on *Phthiotis* of *Theffaly*. *Strab.* L. 9. 10.

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rank the *Theffalians*, and their Associates ; or that, which, out of sordid and interested Views, tamely suffered all this to come upon us, as was done by the *Arcadians*, (a) *Messenians*, and (b) *Argives* ? Have not most of themselves, I might boldly say, all of them, come off in the End, much greater Sufferers than we, by their preposterous Management ? And indeed, had *Philip*, upon the compleating of his Conquests, either immediately gone off, or quietly sat down, without offering the least Injury, either to his own Confederates, or any other of the States of *Greece* ; yet, even in this Case, those who failed to oppose and obstruct his Proceedings, would not have been altogether exempt from Blame and Censure. But, when we see, that, without Distinction, he has equally deprived them all of Reputation, Power, and Liberty, and even destroyed, to the utmost of his Power, some of their Constitutions ; is it not evident, that by pursuing my Counsels, you have most effectually provided both for your own Honour and Safety ? But to return.

21. What, *Æschines*, did it become *Athens* to have done, when she saw *Philip* working his way to the universal Tyranny of *Greece* ? or, how ought I, who was employed in her Affairs, to have spoke, or written for the Commonwealth ; (For this is a Circumstance that highly deserves your Attention) ? For my part, I was very well apprized, from the beginning

(a) <i>Messenians</i>] <i>Messenia</i>, a Region in the West Part of <i>Peloponnesus</i>, bordering on <i>Elis</i>, <i>Arcadia</i>, and <i>Laconia</i>. <i>Strab.</i> L. 8. (b) <i>Argives</i>] <i>Argos</i>, a City of <i>Argia</i>, much celebrated in History. It stands 40 Furlongs from the Sea. <i>Paus.</i> in <i>Corinth.</i> In all Maps it is placed at a great Distance from the Sea, but it appears from the beginning of the	first Book of <i>Herodotus</i>, where he speaks of the Women of <i>Argos</i>, that came down to the Sea-side, to the Ships of the <i>Phœnicians</i> ; and by <i>Thucydides</i> L. 5. where he relates, that the <i>Argives</i> were building Walls to reach from their City to the Sea ; that it cannot be farther from it than is mentioned by <i>Pausanias</i>.
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to the Day on which I first ascended the *Rostrum*, that my Country had always struggled for Empire, for Honour, and for Glory, and that she had expended more Blood and Treasure in Maintenance of her Reputation, and the general Welfare of *Greece*, than any other of its States ever did for their own particular Advantage. I considered also *Philip*, with whom we contended for Sovereignty and Empire, though labouring under the Loss of an Eye, and the joint Misfortunes of a broken Collar-bone, a wither'd Arm, and fractured Leg; yet ready to part with Chearfulness with any other Limb that Fortune pleased, on Condition he might enjoy the Remainder, amidst the Charms of Honour and Glory. And indeed, who would presume to say, that a Man born and bred in such an obscure and nameless Place as *Pella* then was, should have received from Nature a Soul capable of aspiring to the Sovereignty of *Greece*, or a Genius sufficient for laying the Plan of so vast an Undertaking: much less that you, who are not only *Athenians*, but have daily Opportunities, both (a) from the publick Speeches of your Orators, and your Theatrical Entertainments, to revise the Monuments of the Virtue of your brave Forefathers, should be so basely degenerate, as tamely and cowardly, and, as it were, voluntarily, to have surrendered up to *Philip* the Liberties of *Greece*? No Man living, I am certain, would have had the Presumption to advance so strange a Proposition. There was therefore no Remedy left but the last; and it was incumbent upon you bravely to make use of it; namely, to oppose the unjust Encroachments and Attempts he was

(a) From the publick Speeches of your Orators, and your Theatrical Entertainments] λόγους καὶ θεώματα; rendered, in *omni literarum ac praeceptorum genere*, by the Oxford Gentlemen, where in they seem to be mistaken. For λόγους, plainly signifies Ser-

mo, Oratio; and though θεώματα signifies sometimes, *commentationes et Præcepta Disciplinarum*, yet it will be found as often to signify, *spectaculum*; *quod spectamus*; and θεώρειν, *ludos spectare*; in which Sense I have translated it.

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Cassius

making upon you. This as you had a Right to do, so you did it as you ought, early and seasonably. And in pursuance of these Measures, I freely acknowledge, that I both preferred Decrees, and gave my Advice, during the whole Time of my Administration.

22. And now, *Æschines*, let me know of you, what it is, that I ought to have done ? For, it is of you only, that I ask the Question. To omit all other Matters then ; As to the Cities seized by the Usurper, *Amphipolis*, (a) *Pydna*, (b) *Potidea*, and (c) *Halonefus*, I remember nothing concerning those Places. And, as to *Serrium*, *Doriscus*, and the Destruction of (d) *Peparethus*, and other Injuries of that Sort sustained by this State, to the Truth of these Matters, I am likewise an utter Stranger. Yet you have been pleased to assert, that I enumerated these Violences on purpose to incense the State against *Philip*, and embroil her with a formidable Enemy ; whereas, on the contrary, all the Decrees relating to those Matters were framed, either by *Eubulus*, *Aristophon*, or *Diophites*, and not by me : So ready art thou to speak thy own Sentiments, whether right or wrong ! But be it as it will, I shall not at present trouble you with one Word relating to these Transactions. I would only ask, when *Philip* possessed himself of *Eubæa*, and blocked up *Attica* on all Sides ; when he attacked *Megara*, and seized upon (e) *Oreum* ; when he levelled *Porthmus* with the Ground, and set

(a) *Pydna*.] A Macedonian City, in *Pieria*, *Strab. Epist. L. 7.* opposite to *Ænea*. *Livy.*

(b) *Potidea*] A City in *Palene*, in the very *Isthmus* of it. *Herod. L. 7.* *Thucyd. L. 1.* afterwards called *Cassandra*. *Strab. Ep. Lit. L. 7.*

(c) *Halonefus*] A City in the *Chersonesus* of *Erythræa*, between *Cassius* and the Promontory *Ar-*

genum. *Strab. L. 14.* There is also a little Island lying before *Magnesia* of *Thessaly* of this Name, mentioned by *Strabo, L. 9.*

(d) *Peparethus*] A small Island in the *Ægean Sea*.

(e) *Oreum*] A City of the *Hestians* in *Eubæa*, not far from the Promontory of *Ceneum*. *Strab. L. 9.*

up *Philistides* Tyrant in *Oreum*, and *Clitarchus* in *Eretria*; when he subdued the *Hellepont*, and laid Siege to *Byzantium*; when he entirely destroyed several other Cities of *Greece*, and filled the rest with Fugitives and Traytors; when he did all this, I say, did he not commit Injustice, did he did not break the Alliance, and violate the Peace? And was it necessary to raise up a Power among the *Greeks* to resist him, or not? If it was not, but that, *Greece* ought to let herself (a) become a Proverb to the whole World, and tamely resign her self a Prey to the first Invader, and this, while the People of *Athens* were in Being, and might wave their Banners at her Head, then have I been too sanguine and officious in giving, and the

(a) *Become a Proverb*] It is in the Original, *Μυσᾶν λείαν*.

The Prey of the *Mysians*. Proverbs are the most compendious Systems of Philosophy. They are the most easily applied by the Bulk of Mankind to the Uses of moral Life; and are often likewise Quivers of the keenest Traits of Satyr. I think there is much Argument, and Invektive too, crowded into this.

Quid porro in Græco Sermone tam tritum, atque celebratum est, quàm si quis despiciatui dicitur, ut Mysorum ultimus esse dicatur. Cic. pro Flacco.

The contemptible Character of the *Mysians*, the Orator applies here to *Philip*, and his *Macedonians*.

The Scholiast tells a Story, (though he differs something from others), which furnishes other Hints. He says, that the *Grecians* under *Achilles*, sailing towards *Troy*, blundered into a Port of *Mysia*; that they sacked the Town, believing it to be *Troy*: but were many of them killed

and wounded. Here the Danger of mistaking an Enemy may be supposed to be pointed at, and the directing Forces to a wrong Situation.

He further adds, that *Telephus* the King of the Country, received a dangerous Hurt from *Achilles*. That consulting the Oracle for a Cure, the Answer was, "That the same Hand that hurt-
"ed, must heal. Upon which, in a Beggar's Habit, he travelled to *Achilles*. In his Absence, his Subjects became such a Prey to their Neighbours, that they sunk into this Proverb. To be sure this Story was familiar to the *Greeks*, since *Telephus's* Wound is the Song of many of the *Latin* Poets. Of *Prop.* *Tib.* *Ovid.* *Hor.* &c. Here the *Athenians* are handsomely told, that they would deserve the Proverb themselves, should they suffer *Greece* to be enslaved, while they were in being, and might wave their Banners at her Head.

State no less so, in receiving my Advice. Yet in this Case, I am willing to bear all the Reproach and Blame that can be fastened upon these Measures. But, if it was necessary to put a Stop to *Philip's* Proceedings, on whom was that Duty incumbent, if not on the People of *Athens* ?

23. This then was my Conduct at that Juncture : For, perceiving *Philip* in a formed Design to make all Mankind his Slaves, I opposed him to the utmost of my Power, and by repeated Remonstrances, was continually warning you of the Danger of leaving Things to his Mercy. And as to the Peace, *Æschines*, it was broken by himself, in seizing our Ships, and not by the Republick. But let the Decrees themselves and *Philip's* own Letter be brought forth, and read in their Order ; for, from them, it will evidently appear, where the Blame of every Proceeding ought to be fixed. Read the *Decree*.

The DECREE.

IN the Archonship of Neocles, in the Month called Boedromion, the General Assembly being extraordinarily convened by the Generals ; Eubulus, the Son of Mnesitheus, of the Cyprian Tribe, spoke thus.

Whereas the Generals have reported in the Publick Assembly, that Leodamas our Admiral, together with twenty Ships sent under his Command to import Corn from the Hellespont, have been taken by Amyntas, Philip's Admiral, and carried by him to Macedon, and are there detained. Be it therefore Decreed, That the Prytanes and Generals take Care, to assemble the Senate, and that Embassadors be chosen and dispatched to Philip to treat with him about dismissing our Admiral, our Fleet, and our Soldiers ; and moreover, to declare to him, that if Amyntas did this, purely out of Ignorance, the People of Athens

Athens would make no Complaint of him ; but if he found Leodamas exceeding his Orders, that the People of Athens, when made sensible of his Faults, will punish him as he deserves. But if neither the one, nor the other of these be the Case, but that either Philip himself, or his Admiral have thus clandestinely broke the Peace, then let them desire him to write an Account of the whole Matter to the Athenians, that they, knowing the true State thereof, may deliberate upon such Measures as shall seem most proper to be pursued.

You see then, this Decree was preferred by Eubulus, and not by me. The following Decrees were framed by Aristophon, Hegesippus, Aristophon a second Time, Philocrates, and Cephisophon, and many others : But for me, I never so much as proposed any thing upon the Subject. Read the Decree.

The DECREE.

IN the Archonship of Neocles, on the last Day of the Month Boedromion, the Prytanes and Generals having acquainted the Senate with the Result of what had been transacted in the General Assembly of the People, It is decreed by their Consent, that Embassadors be chosen and dispatched to Philip, in order to demand the Restoration of the Ships, which he had taken and detain'd ; and that proper Instructions be given them, together with the Decrees of the Assembly. The Persons elected, were Cephisophon the Son of Cleon the Anaphlystian, Democritus, the Son of Demophon the Anagyrharian, and Polycritus, the Son of Apemantus the Cothocidean. The Motion was made by Aristophon the Colyttean President, the Hippothoontidean Tribe exercising the Prytannick Power.

As

As I have produced these Decrees, so do you, *Æschines*, produce such of mine, as kindled that War. But you cannot find any such upon Record; for, if you could, they would have been the first Thing which you would have now produced against me. Neither does *Philip* himself lay to my Charge any share of the Blame of the War, though he is very loud in his Complaints against all those whom he imagined to have had any Hand in it. For Proof of which, let his own Letter be read.

PHILIP's Letter.

PHILIP, *King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Athens, Greeting.* Your Embassadors, *Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycritus, came to treat with me concerning the Dismission of the Ships commanded by Laodamas.* I cannot indeed, forbear looking upon it to be a very great Weakness in you to imagine, that I am not sensible, that these Ships were sent, under a Pretext of bringing Corn from the Hellespont to (a) Lemnos, but in reality to relieve the (b) Selymbrians whom I now besiege, though they are not comprehended in our Common Treaty. This Charge was given the Admiral, without the Knowledge of the People of Athens, by some Magistrates and others, who, though now retired from Business, and living privately, yet are very desirous to make a Rupture between your Republick and me; and are much more zealous to have this effected, than to see the Selymbrians relieved, because they apprehend it will tend more to their own private Advantage; though I really cannot apprehend, how it will be serviceable either to you or me.

(a) Lemnos.] An Island in the *Ægean Sea*, on the East of the Mountain *Athos*, the Shadow of which is said to reach so far, as sometimes to fall upon it. *Plin.*

L. 4. *Strab. Epit. L. 7.*

(b) Selymbrians.] *Selymbria*, a City of *Thrace*, by the Side of *Propontis*.

Wherefore I send you back again your Ships, and if you will not suffer your Magistrates to act unjustly for the future, but punish them according to their Deserts, I will endeavour to maintain the Peace. Farewel.

24. In all this, there is not the least mention made of *Demosthenes*, nor any manner of Crime laid to my Charge. And why is it, that I am not brought in as well as others, for my share of the Blame? Why, because had he wrote any thing concerning me, he could not have avoided reminding us of the Injuries which he himself had done us: For, to oppose, and guard against these, had all along been the principal Business of my Life. Accordingly, I first proposed an Embassy to *Peloponnesus*, on the first News of his invading it; afterwards, another to *Eubæa*, as soon as he had turned his Arms thither; and then, not a mere Embassy, but an Expedition to *Oreum*, and *Eretria*, after he had set up Tyrants in those States. I was afterwards the Occasion of setting out those Fleets, which were the Preservation not only of the (a) *Chersonesus* and *Byzantium*, but of all your Allies; from whom you received the most glorious of all Rewards, the united Praises, Honours, Crowns, and Blessings of the People, to whom you had been such generous Benefactors. Such of those oppressed People as listened to your Counsels, found their Deliverance in them; while those that slighted and neglected them, had just Cause given them frequently to reflect on your Predictions, and enjoyed the sad Satisfaction of finding you to have been not only their best Friends, but inspired with Wisdom and Foresight something more than Humane. For, exactly agreeable to what you had foretold, did all their Misfortunes come upon them.

(a) *Chersonesus*] That Territory of *Thrace*, which is environed by these three Seas, *Propontis*, *Hellepont*, and the Black Bay, *Meias*, *Strab. L. 7.*

25. How high a Price *Philistides* would have given to keep Possession of *Oreum*, and *Clitarchus* of *Eretria*; and how much *Philip* himself would have sacrificed, to have had these two Cities at his Devotion, and to have hindered an Enquiry into his other unjust Proceedings, and particularly the Injuries he had every where committed against this State, are Things, of which no body is ignorant, and you, *Æschines*, least of all. For the Embassadors at that Time sent hither by *Clitarchus* and *Philistides*, took up their Lodgings with you, *Æschines*; you entertained Persons whom the People thought fit to drive out of the City as Publick Enemies; as Persons, who went about seducing the People into Measures, neither just nor profitable for the Commonwealth. These nevertheless were your Friends. Is not all this true? O thou unworthy Slanderer, who chargest me with being silent on my receiving a Bribe, and renewing my Clamours as soon as it is spent! But this is not your Practice; no truly it is not. For, you have Impudence enough to make the greatest Outcry, even when you are full-handed; nor are your Clamours ever likely to cease, unless these your Judges this Day impose an eternal Silence upon you, by branding you with a perpetual Mark of Infamy, such as your Crimes have deserved.

26. Though therefore, on these Accounts, you were then pleased to Honour me with a Crown, and though *Aristonicus* preferred a Decree, not only of the same Tenor, but in the express Words of this of *Ctesiphon*, which was likewise proclaimed in the Theatre; (this being the second Time I had received that Honour); yet did not *Æschines*, who was present, make the least Opposition to it, far less accuse the Person who had proposed the Decree; which I desire may also be read.

The

The DECREE.

IN the Archonship of Chærondas, the Son of Hegemon, on the Twenty-fifth Day of the Month Gamelon, the Leontidean Tribe exercising the Prytannick Power, Aristonicus the Phrearean spoke thus.

Whereas Demosthenes, the Son of Demosthenes, of the Pæanean Tribe, has performed very many and great Services not only for the People of Athens, but for many of their Confederates and Allies ; and as always heretofore, so now continues to frame very advantageous Decrees, by which he has rescued some of the Eubæan Cities from Slavery, and constantly shews his Good-will to the People of Athens by promoting both by his Words and Actions to the utmost of his Power, not only their Welfare, but that of all the rest of Greece. Be it therefore Decreed by the Senate and People of Athens, That Demosthenes, the Son of Demosthenes the Pæanean, be praised and honoured with a Golden Crown, and that Proclamation of it be made in the Theatre at the great Feasts of Bacchus, during the Representation of the New Tragedies ; and that the Tribe exercising the Prytannick Power for the Time being, and the Master of the Ceremonies, take care that such Proclamation be duly made. Thus spoke Aristonicus the Phrearean.

Is there any of you remembers this State to have received any Affront, Reproach, or Ridicule, at that Time, on the Account of this Decree, which he alleges must certainly be the Consequence of my being honoured with a Crown at present ? Surely, when Affairs are so lately transacted, that every one must be perfectly acquainted with them, it is a sure Proof that they have been well conducted, if Thanks be returned for them ; as Punishment is a Token of the contrary. And it is equally plain, that at that Time

I was

I was rewarded with Thanks ; and far from undergoing any Punishment, was not even so much as reprimanded.

27. Till the Time therefore of these Transactions, it is universally acknowledged, that I have managed the Affairs of the Publick to the best Advantage, both in regard, that my Advices had such an Influence on your Counsels, as to procure a Confirmation of all my Decrees ; and likewise, because they were attended with a happy Effect, and did Honour to the State, and to every one of you, as well as to my self. The Sacrifices and Thanksgivings then offered up by you to the Gods on that Account, are also a full Proof how happily you esteemed your Affairs to have been conducted. Then, after *Philip* was driven out of *Eubæa*, by your Arms indeed, but by my Policy and Counsels ; and, (though some People should even burst with Envy at it,) by my Decrees ; he immediately set himself to find out some other Device to destroy our Commonwealth ; and therefore seeing, that we imported more Corn than any other People ; and being desirous to ingross that Article himself, he goes to *Thrace*, and presses the *Byzantines* his Confederates to wage War in Conjunction with him, upon us. But when they refused, and said, That was not the Design of their entering into an Alliance with him, (a Truth indeed which could not be denied), he, drawing a Trench about their Walls, and applying his Engines to them, laid close Siege to them. This being the Case, What was it incumbent on you to have done ? I will no longer ask the Question, for every body knows it. But who was it that relieved the *Byzantines*, and raised the Siege ? Who was it at that Time that preserved the *Hellepont* from Foreign Slavery ? It was You, O Men of *Athens*, and when I say You, I say the Commonwealth. But who was it that devoted all his Words, Decrees, and Actions, and

and even exposed his Person to the utmost Hazards for the Service of the Republick ? I am the Person ; and I only. But how universally Serviceable this was, you are not now to learn from my Words, since you have in Fact experienced it. For, That War, beside the great Honours it brought you, supplied you likewise with all the necessaries of Life more plentifully, and at a cheaper Rate, than the present Peace; a Peace, of which, nevertheless, some Gentlemen are exceedingly fond, and that, contrary to their Country's Interest, in hopes of gaining some future Advantages for themselves. But, may just Heaven disappoint them of their Expectations; and may they never participate of those Blessings prayed for by the honest Part of the City, nor ever be enabled to execute their wicked Designs against your Safety ! But, read to them the Decrees which the *Byzantines* and (a) *Perrynthians* passed for honouring our State with Crowns, for these glorious Actions.

The Decree of the Byzantines.

BOSPHORICUS being Hieromnemon, Demagetus, (b) in full Assembly, by the Senate's Permission, spoke thus. Whereas the People of Athens, have

(a) *Perinthus.*] A Maritime City of Thrace, on the Side of Propontis.

(b) *In full Assembly*] ἐν τῇ ἀλλείᾳ. There are several Readings of this Word. *Wolfius* thinks, τετραλλία, was the Name of a Place, so called in *Byzantium*, and accordingly renders it, *Demagetus* spoke thus in the τετραλλία. *Lambinus*, (whom the Oxford Gentlemen follow) joins the two Words together, and reads Εὐτετραλλία, taking it for the Name of a Man, and thence, without any manner

of Proof, renders it, The Son of *Enteales*. But other learned Men are of Opinion, that it may be better read thus, ἐν τῇ ἀλλείᾳ, altering only one letter, in *Populi Conventu*, and deriving the Word, ἀλλείᾳ, from ἀλλεῖξαι, convenire, congregari, whence we often read ἀλλεες, frequentes, Conferti. Thus we read in *Herodotus*, ἀλλείαν ἐποίησαντο, conveniebant, conventum fecerunt ; and in this Sense *Hesychius* understands the Word, ἀλλείᾳ ; whom I have chosen to follow.

as well in Times past born a constant Good-will to the Byzantines and their Confederates and Relations the Perinthians, as very lately done them many great and signal Services, when Philip of Macedon invaded their Territories and Cities, with a Design utterly to destroy them, cutting down their Woods, and ravaging and laying waste their Country with Fire and Sword : And whereas the said Athenians, by dispatching to our Assistance a Fleet of an hundred and twenty Sail, with Men, Arms, and Provisions, have rescued us out of great and imminent Dangers, and restored us our antient Polity, our Laws, and Sepulchres. Be it therefore Decreed by the Byzantines and Perinthians, That the Athenians shall have Liberty to intermarry with us ; shall be presented with the Freedom of all our Cities ; shall be capable of purchasing Lands ; and shall have the Front-seats appointed them at all our Publick Games and Diversions, in the (a) Tholus, in the Senate-House, and the General Assembly of the People, by the Masters of our sacred Ceremonies ; and in Case any of them be inclined to live in our Cities, they shall be entirely exempted from all Taxes and Imposts whatsoever. And be it likewise further Decreed, That three Statues, each sixteen Cubits high, be erected in the (b) Bosphorus, representing the People of Athens Crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians ; and let (c) Presents be sent to all the Publick Meetings of Greece,

(a) *Tholus*] A Portico or Gallery in *Byzantium*, where, as *Lambinus* supposes, the Magistrates of *Byzantium* used to assemble to see Publick Shows and Diversions.

(b) *Bosphorus*] The Port of *Byzantium*, upon a Streight of the Sea, so narrow, that a Man may hear Cocks Crow, and Dogs

bark, from one Side to the other.

(c) *Presents*] That is, Crowns; for, nothing was more common in ancient Times, than for one State to present another with a Crown, and to order Proclamation of it to be made, in the greatest Assemblies.

to the (a) Isthmian, (b) Nemean, (c) Olympian and Pythian Games, and let the Donation of the Crown with which we honour the Athenians, be proclaimed in all those Places,

(a) To the Isthmian] The Isthmian Games were so called from the Place where they were celebrated, viz. The Corinthian Isthmus, a Neck of Land by which Peloponnesus is joyned to the Continent. They were instituted in Honour of Palemon, or Melicertes, as some report; or according to others, in Honour of Neptune, by Theseus. Others are of Opinion, that there were two distinct Solemnities observed in the Isthmus, one to Melicertes, and another to Neptune; which Report is grounded upon the Authority of Musæus, who wrote a Treatise about the Isthmian Games. Phavorinus reports, that these Games were first instituted in Honour of Neptune, and afterwards celebrated in Memory of Palemon. Plutarch, on the contrary, tells us, that the first Institution of them was in Honour of Melicertes, but afterwards they were altered, enlarged, and re-instituted in Honour of Neptune, by Theseus. But however that was, these Games were observed every third, or rather every fifth Year, and held so sacred and inviolable, That when they had been intermitted for some Time, through the Oppression of Cypselus, King of Corinth; after the Tyrant's death, the Corinthians, to renew the Memory of them, which was almost decayed, employed the utmost Power and Industry they were able in reviving them, and

celebrated them with such Splendor and Magnificence as was never practised in former Ages. The Victors were rewarded with Garlands of Pine-leaves: Afterwards dry and withered Parsley was given them, according to Plutarch, in the fifth Book of his Symposiacks. Potter's Ant.

(b) Nemean] The Nemean Games were so called, according to Strabo, L. 8. from Nemea, a Village and Grove between the Cities Cleone and Phlius, where they were celebrated every third Year, upon the Twelfth of the Corinthian Month *παιρέμιος*. The Exercises were Chariot-Races, and all the Parts of the Pentathlum. The Presidents were apparelled in black Cloths, the Habit of Mourners, because these Games were a Funeral-solemnity instituted in Memory of Ophelties, otherwise called Archemorus. Statius. Others are of Opinion, that these Games were instituted by Hercules after his Victory over the Nemean Lyon, in honour of Jupiter, who, as Pausanias tells us, had a magnificent Temple at Nemea. The Victors were crowned with fresh Parsly; which was an Herb used at Funerals, and feigned to have sprung out of Archemorus's Blood. Potter's Ant.

(c) Olympian] The Olympian Games were so called from Olympia, a City in the Territory of the Pisceans, where they were celebrated in Honour of Jupiter. Concerning the first Institution of

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Places, to the End, that all the States of Greece may be Witnesses of the Virtue and Bravery of the People of Athens, and of the Gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians. Read also the Decree which the Chersonesites passed for honouring us with Crowns.

The Decree of the Chersonesites.

THE Chersonesites inhabiting (a) Sestus, (b) Eleus, (c) Madytus, and Alopeconesus, do honour the Senate and People of Athens with a Golden Crown of sixty Talents Value; and likewise erect an Altar to Gratitude, and the Athenians, because they have been their greatest Benefactors, in rescuing them from the Tyranny of Philip, and restoring them to their Countries, their Laws, Liberties, and Temples; nor will they ever hereafter forget to retain a most grateful Sense of their Kindnesses, but will return their Obligations to the utmost of

of them there are many Opinions. Phlegon reports, they were first instituted by Pifus. Others will have the first Author of them to be one of the *Daëtyli*, named *Hercules*, not the Son of *Alcmena*, but another of far greater Antiquity. Others, (if we may believe *Julius Scaliger*), report, that these Games were instituted by *Pelops* to the Honour of *Nephtune*. Others say, they were first celebrated by *Hercules*, the Son of *Alcmena*, to the Honour of *Pelops*, from whom he was descended by the Mother's Side; but being after that discontinued for some Time, they were revived by *Iphitus*, or *Iphiclus* one of *Hercules's* Sons. The most common Opinion is, that the *Olympian Games* were first instituted by this *Hercules*, to the Honour

of the *Olympian Jupiter*, as *Pindar*, and *Diodorus the Sicilian*, Report. They were celebrated every fifth Year, and lasted five Days. This Solemnity was re-instituted by *Iphitus* about four hundred and eight Years after the *Trojan War*, according to *Peta-vius* (in *Doct. Temp. L. 13.*) In the Year of the World 3174. from which Time, according to *Solinus*, the Number of the *Olympiads* are reckoned.

(a) *Sestus*.] A City of the *Thracian Chersonesus* *Strab. L. 13.*

(b) *Eleus*.] a City of *Chersonesus*, to the North of *Lemnos*. *Herod. L. 6.*

(c) *Madytus*.] A City of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, between *Sestus* and *Abydus*. *Herod. L. 7.*

their Power. This was unanimously Decreed in the Common-Council-House.

Thus then, my Counsels, and Administration had not only the Happiness to preserve *Chersonesus* and *Byzantium*, and to hinder *Philip* from becoming Master of the *Hellepont*, which proved so honourable to the Commonwealth; but they also served to display to all Mankind the Generosity of the *Athenians*, and the base Perfidiousness of *Philip*. For he, though a Friend and Ally of the *Byzantines*, yet in the Face of the whole World besieged them; than which, what could be imagined more base and iniquitous? But you, who might have very justly resented many Injuries they had formerly done you, far from cherishing a Spirit of Revenge, would not suffer them to be destroy'd, but became your selves their Champions and Deliverers. An Action, which not only drew upon you universal Good-will, but also gained you immortal Glory. Nor is it indeed a Novelty for *Athens*, to crown many of her faithful Citizens and Servants: For this is what every one remembers to have been frequently done. But never has it been known that any one before me, I mean in the Capacity of an Orator or Publick Minister, procured *Athens* her self to be crowned.

28. And now, That I may shew you, that all his Invectives against the *Eubæans*, and *Byzantines*, wherein he has purposely aggravated Matters, by calling up every little Circumstance of Diskindness they had ever shewn us, are no more than mere Calumnies, not only in regard of their Falsehood, (for this I believe, all of you are already fully convinced of); but also in regard, that let them have been ever so true, I always made them turn to the Advantage of your Affairs. I will lay before you in the briefest Manner, one or two of those glorious Actions which in former Times have

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have been performed by this Commonwealth. For, it is the Duty of States, as well as of Private Persons, to single out the most illustrious Examples, whereby to regulate the whole Tenor of their future Conduct.

When therefore, O *Athenians*, the *Lacedæmonians*, being entirely Masters, both by Sea and Land, had blocked up all *Attica* with their (a) Forces and Garrisons, and had possessed themselves of *Eubæa*, (b) *Tanagra*, *Bœotia*, *Megara*, (c) *Egina*, (d) *Cleone*, and the adjacent Islands; at this time, I say, when you had neither a Fleet, nor even Walls to your City; yet you marched out to the Relief of (e) *Haliartus*, and in a few Days after, to (f) *Corinth*, though the *Athenians* had just Cause to remember a great many ill Offices done them, both by the *Corinthians* and *Thebans*, in the (g) *Decelean War*. But, so far were they from seeking Revenge, that they made not even the least Effort towards it. Upon both these Occasions,

(a) *Forces.*] ἀρχόντες, Gubernator, Prætor, the Governour, Prætor, or chief Magistrate, sent by the *Lacedæmonians* to manage and govern the Cities subject to them. *Suid.* It is also taken for a General sent upon an Expedition; or for an Officer like the Dictator among the *Romans*.

(b) *Tanagra*] a City of *Bœotia*, bordering on *Attica*, thirty Furlongs distant from *Aulis*, and a Haven on the *Eubæan Sea*. *Strab.* L. 9.

(c) *Ægina*] An Island over against *Epidaurus*, in the *Saronian Bay*. *Strab.* L. 3. *Paus.* in *Corinth*.

(d) *Cleone.*] A City of *Argia*, between *Argos* and *Corinth*, bordering on the *Phliasiens*. *Paus.* in *Corinth*. Also a City in the Territory where Mount *Athos* stands. *Hærocl.* L. 7. *Thucyd.* L. 4.

(e) *Haliartus.*] A City of *Bœotia*, on the Side of the Lake *Copias*, towards *Helicon*. *Strab.* L. 9. It borders on the Territory of *Thespiæ*. *Paus.* in *Bœoticis*.

(f) *Corinth*] A famous City, near the *Isthmus* of *Peloponnesus*.

(g) *Decelean War.*] *Decelea*, a Town in *Attica*, in the Way betwixt *Oropus* and *Athens*, distant from *Athens* 120 Furlongs, and not much more from *Bœotia*. *Thucyd.* L. 7. Here stood a Castle, which in the beginning of the 19th Year of the *Peloponnesian War*, the *Lacedæmonians* strongly fortified, and thence made Sallies upon the *Athenians* to their great Detriment. This Castle was so famous, that the *Peloponnesian War*, towards the latter End of it, was from thence called the *Decelean War*. *Suid.*

Æschines

Æschines, the *Athenians* acted neither by way of Acknowledgment for any Favour they had received ; nor because they saw these Enterprizes accompanied with very little Hazard; nor because they would not ungenerously abandon those who had fled into their Arms for Protection : No, but from Motives of pure Generosity, and the Love of true Glory, they cheerfully exposed themselves to the utmost Difficulties and Dangers, with a Resolution no less honest than heroick : (a) For, Death puts a Period to the Lives of all Men. The most secret Inclosures cannot guard against it. The Brave therefore, arming themselves with good Hopes of being able to bear with *Æquanimity* whatever the Gods shall please to order, are always ready to engage in every great and noble Enterprize. This was the Conduct of our brave Forefathers ; and this the Conduct of the more advanced in Years among our selves. For, when the *Thebans*, after their Victory at *Leuctra*, attempted the utter Extermination of the *Lacedæmonians*, at that Time neither your Friends, nor Benefactors, but justly obnoxious to your Resentment, on account of the many great and unjust Hostilities they had committed against this State, yet you marched out against their Invaders, and stopped them in the midst of their Career, without being daunted either at the Greatness of their Power, or the Reputation of their Arms, or even considering how little they deserved it, for whose Sakes you exposed your selves to so much Danger. Thus did you manifest to all *Greece*, that though, whenever any had offended you, you could

(a) For, Death puts a Period, &c.] This is a lively Picture of the Fright and Confusion of such as would fly from the King of Terrors, but in vain. Certainly it is a noble Sentiment. For, if by this, a *Demosthenes* can per-

swade his *Athenians* to look cheerfully into the Grave : How must *St. Paul* inspire them, when he demonstrates, that through *Christ*, they may rise out of it again to eternal Glory ?

reserve

reserve your Vengeance for a proper Occasion; yet whenever a Conjuncture happened, either threatening them with Ruin, or the Loss of Liberty, you could immediately forget all past Injuries, smother your Resentment, and forbear calling them to an Account for them.

29. Nor were these the only Instances that you have shewn of such generous Behaviour. For, when the *Thebans* a second Time attempted to reduce *Eubæa* to a State of Slavery and Subjection, you slighted not that State, nor retained any grievous Sense of the Injuries committed against you concerning (a) *Oropus*, by *Themison* and *Theodorus*, but even readily succoured and relieved it. At this Time it was, that Voluntier Trierarchs were first made amongst you, of which Number I was one. But of this I shall speak hereafter. It was indeed a Glorious Action in you to preserve that Island; but it was much more glorious, when you became absolute Masters of all the Lives and Cities of its Inhabitants, from a Principle of Justice, to restore them to those very Men that had done you so great Injuries; and that, without touching any thing which they in Trust had committed to your Care. But I pass over in Silence innumerable Instances of this kind, which I could mention; Sea-fights, Expeditions, and Land-forces raised

(a) *The Injuries committed against you concerning Oropus.* *Themison* and *Theodorus*, the *Eubæans*, seized upon *Oropus*, a Town belonging to the *Athenians*, and situated betwixt *Attica* and *Bæotia*. The *Athenians* resenting this greatly, designed to recover it by Force of Arms; but were however, prevailed on to submit the Matter to the Determination of some disinterested State. The *Thebans* offered to guard and take care of the Town, till the Difference should be adjusted; but after they had once got Possession of it, they never restored it either to the one or the other of the contending Parties, till *Philip*, after he had made a Peace with the *Athenians*, took it from the *Thebans*, and restored it to them. *Ulp.*

in former Times, as well as lately by your selves ; all employed by this Republick for the Common Liberty and Safety of the rest of the *Greeks*. When therefore I had observed, that this Commonwealth had an Ambition to engage in such glorious Contests and Struggles for the Interest and Benefit of others, when at the same Time its own Interest also was in some sort consulted ; what should I have perswaded ; what Measures should I have advised her to pursue ? Should I, O Gods ! have advised the People of *Athens* to reproach Men that fled into their Arms for Protection, with a bitter Remembrance of their former Demerits ? Should I have searched out for specious Pretences to betray the Common Interest of All ? Would I not have justly deserved to have been massacred, had I so much as attempted, even by a single Word, to tarnish the Glory of *Athens*, since I was thoroughly convinced, you would not be guilty of so base an Action ? For, had you been so disposed, what could have prevented you ? Was it not absolutely in your own Power ? And were not these very Men by, who most earnestly pressed you to commit it ?

30. But I will now resume the Thread of my Discourse, and give you an Account of the remaining Part of my Administration ; and here again, I must entreat you to consider, what tended most to the Interest and Advantage of the Commonwealth. For my Part, when I had observed, O Men of *Athens*, that your Shipping were in a perishing Condition ; that the rich Citizens were exempted from Taxes, by paying a very inconsiderable Proportion ; but that the Poor, and midling Sort, were stripped even of all the little that they had ; and that, for these Reasons, the State had lost all Opportunities of making any glorious Attempt : I made a Law, by which I compelled the Rich to do Justice in this Matter, delivered the Poor from Oppression, and found Means, (which was

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was a Service of the greatest Consequence), of furnishing the Republick in due Time with all Military Stores. And when I was indicted upon this Occasion, for infringing the Laws, I appeared in Judgment before you, made my Defence, and was fairly acquitted, my Accuser not having the fifth Part of your Suffrages. And how large a Reward do you think, the (a) Chiefs of the Companies of the Second or third Rank, would have given me, principally indeed not to have proposed this Law at all ; but if that could not be done, to put off the Passing of it to a further Day, upon the (b) Oath provided in such Cases, and by that Means, give them an Opportunity of evading it entirely ? So large indeed, O Athenians, that I am ashamed to mention it. And truly, they might well have done it. For, by the former Law, sixteen of them were to join together in setting out one Ship only for the Publick Service, by which Means, what they themselves disbursed was very inconsiderable, while their poor Fellow-Citizens

(1) *The Chiefs of the Companies of the second, or third Rank, &c.* τούς ἐφημερίας ἢ Συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς δευτέρας ἢ τρίτους. *Libanius* in the Argument, *πρὶ Συμμοριῶν*, says, that *Συμμορία*, is, *λειτουργούντων σύνταγμα*, a Band or Company of Publick Officers. These were in Number twelve hundred ; that is, one hundred and twenty out of each Tribe. These 1200 were divided by Sixties into 20 Companies, which were called *Συμμορία*. Out of the 10 first Companies which were the richest, three hundred of the Wealthiest were obliged to furnish the Commonwealth with all Necessaries in all Emergencies. *Sigon. Harpocrat.* The Heads of these Companies,

are by *Hyperides* called *Συμμοριάρχαι*, by *Demosthenes* *ἐφημερόνες*; by *Δευτέρας ἢ τρίτους*, I apprehend may be meant, the Chiefs of the second and third Rank, of the three hundred above mentioned.

(b) *Upon the Oath* ὑπωμοσία, was an Oath, whereby a Trial was put off when any Person, through Sicknes, or by reason of his travelling into foreign Countries, or any other Cause of this Nature, was not able to appear, but at the same time gave his Oath, that he would appear, as soon as possible, and prosecute his Suit. Whence those who deferred this, were said *υπόμνησαι*. *Suid.*

were

were very much oppressed. But, by my Law it was provided, that every one should be taxed according to his Abilities; so that one was obliged to fit out two Ships, who before contributed only the sixteenth Part of the Expence towards one: And for this Reason, they called themselves (a) Contributors only, and not Trierarchs. No Demand therefore, how large soever, could be made, which they would not have granted, provided they could have removed this Burthen off themselves, and escaped being laid under a Necessity of doing a Piece of so much Justice to their Fellow-Citizens. To shew this, read me first the Decree, for which I was impeached, and then both the Tax-Rolls, namely, That made in Pursuance of the former Law, and That made according to mine.

The DECREE.

IN the Archonship of Policles, on the sixteenth Day of the Month Boedromion, the Hippothoantidean Tribe, exercising the Prytannick Power; Demosthenes the Son of Demosthenes, the Pæanean, proposed a Decree concerning the fitting out of Ships by the Trierarchs, which was ratified by the Senate and People, after they had first repealed the former Law, which allowed of the Contributions of the Trierarchs: For the Proposal of which Decree, Patrocles the Phlyasian accused the said Demosthenes, as an Infringer of the Establish'd Laws of the Commonwealth: But not having the fifth Part of the Suffrages of the People, was condemned to pay a Fine of five hundred Drachms. Now produce that excellent Tax-Roll.

(a) Contributors.] ΣΥΝΤΕΛΑΪΣ; and the Contribution given by those who took Care of the Rig- each Person towards the Ex-
ging and fitting out more than pence, was called ΣΥΝΤΕΛΑΪΑ
one Ship were called ΣΥΝΤΕΛΑΪΣ; Suid.

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The *Tax-Roll* according to the *Old Law*.

LET those be appointed Trierarchs out of the different Companies, who contribute each the sixteenth Part of the Expence towards the Building of one Ship: And let every one, from the Age of Twenty-five to that of Forty, pay an equal Proportion towards the Expence of this Armament. Now, produce the *Tax-Roll* made according to my Law.

The *Tax-Roll*.

LET every Trierarch be elected according to the Value of his Estate. Let him fit out one Ship, if he be valued to be worth ten Talents: But in Case any one shall be judged to be worth more, let him contribute proportionably to the Building of more Ships, yet at most, but three, with a Skiff: And by the same Rule of Proportion, let such as are not valued to be worth ten Talents, be joined together with others, till their Estates make up that Sum.

31. Now, Do you look upon this, to have been a small Piece of Service which I did the Poor? Or do you think the Rich would have given but an inconsiderable Sum to escape being taxed in so just a Manner? I therefore Glory, not only on Account of my Firmness in opposing these Measures, and of having defeated him that accused me on this Head; but also on Account of my having established a most wholesome Law; a Law, which has proved it self such by its Effects. For, during the whole Course of the War, our Maritime Affairs being regulated, and the Fleets equipped and set out according to my Law!

Law; No Trierarchs injured by it, petitioned you for Redress; none were found waiting at the Temple of *Diana* of (a) *Manichia* with their Complaints; None of them were thrown into Prison by the Admirals: In a Word, no Ship was lost abroad: Nor was any of them detained at home for want of necessary Repairs. Accidents, which often happened, when the former Laws were in Force, because the Poor were not able to pay the Taxes imposed upon them; which often proved the Source of insuperable Difficulties. But I, by removing the Burthen of these Armaments from the Poor to the Rich, brought Matters into a new Course, and more easie to be made effectual. And therefore I cannot forbear saying, that I deserve Praise even on this Account, since during the whole Course of my Administration, I have constantly pursued such Measures as tended to promote the Glory, Honour, and Power of the Commonwealth; nor have any of them discovered the least Tincture of Malice, Spleen, or Envy, or been marked with any Thing base, or unbecoming the Dignity of *Athens*.

32. I proceed now to shew you likewise, that the same Principles upon which I have acted for the good of this Republick, have also accompanied all my Actions with relation to the *Greeks* in General. For, as

(a) *Munichia*.] A Promontory not far distant from the *Piræus*, extended not unlike to a *Peninsula*, and well fortified both by Nature, and afterwards, at the Instance of *Thrasylbulus*, by Art. The Name was derived from one *Munychus*, who dedicated in this Place a Temple to *Diana* surnamed *Munichia*, which yet others report to have been founded by *Embarus*. In this Temple, as the *Scholias*t informs us, was a

Court of Appeal from the Admiralty, where all injured Sailors might offer their Complaints. And a Court was also kept monthly in this Place for the Redress of all Strangers. There was likewise an *Asylum* there; but I think this Passage has no Relation to that; the Text not favouring that Interpretation, it being *ἐκαστος*, staid, waited, attended.

in *Athens*, I did not prefer the Favour of the Great and the Rich, to the Rights and Priviledges of the Common People ; so neither in *Greece*, was I fonder of *Philip's* Gifts and Friendship, than of the common Interest of the *Greeks*. Nothing therefore, in my Opinion, now remains for me to do, but to speak to the Points of the Proclamation, and the giving in my Accounts. For, I think, I have already sufficiently demonstrated, that my Actions have all along been most beneficial to the Publick, and that I have constantly shewn my Zeal and Readiness for your Service, upon all Occasions : And this, though I have omitted many of my most important Services, during the Course of my Administration, which might have been mentioned ; being of Opinion, that I am obliged in the first Place, to answer the Charge brought against *Ctesiphon* for infringing the Laws, in a regular Method ; and that I am likewise well assured, that, notwithstanding my Silence concerning the other Parts of my Administration, yet the Consciences of every one of you, will be more than a sufficient Testimony in my Behalf.

33. As for the tedious and perplexed Harangue, which he has made, with Regard to the Infringement of the Laws, by the Immortal Gods, I believe you could not understand the greatest Part of it ; I am sure, it was altogether beyond my Comprehension ; but for my part, I will make use of a plain and short Method in speaking to this Article. For, so far am I from saying, that I am not obliged to give in my Accounts, (as that Impostor just now often declared and falsely asserted), that I confess my self, on the contrary, to be accountable to you during the whole Course of my Life, for all the Employments and publick Offices I ever had amongst you. But, as to any thing, that out of my own private Fortune I voluntarily bestowed the People ; for that, I maintain, I am
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at no Time accountable, (Do you hear that Assertion *Æschines* ?) No, nor any one else upon my Score, though he were actually in the high Station of one of the Nine Archons. For, what Law is there so extremely unjust, so very barbarous and cruel, as where a Man freely bestows part of his own private Fortune, and signalizes himself by doing a generous and liberal Action, not only to rob such an one of his due Reward of Thanks, but also to expose him to Sycophants, and make them the Examiners and Judges of his Liberality ? No ; there is no such Law ; if he says there is, let him produce it, and I will submit, and be for ever silent. But in Truth, O *Athenians*, there is not any such Law : And therefore it is a bold Calumny, his saying with respect to the Money I expended when Treasurer of the Theatre, [*The Senate hath honoured him with a Proclamation, though liable to give in his Accounts,*] since in reality I have not been proclaimed for any Matters, wherein I was at all accountable, but purely, O thou Calumniator, for my own Beneficence and Liberality.

34. But he goes on, and says, you were at that Time Overseer of the Walls. I own it ; and for this very Reason I was deservedly praised, because what I expended on them, I freely bestowed, and did not charge it to the Account of the Publick. Every one, 'tis true, that disburses the publick Money, is subject to account for it, and obliged to undergo a nice Examination ; but nothing can justly attend a Free-will-Offering, but Thanks and Praise ; and upon this very Score it was, that *Ctesiphon* preferred this Decree in my Favour. Now, that this is not only a Truth, but equally authorized both by our own Laws and Customs, I can very easily demonstrate, from a vast Number of Instances. For, in the first Place, *Nausicles*, when he commanded your Armies, was frequently crowned by you, for having relieved the Necessities of the State, from

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from his own private Purse. Again, you crowned *Diotimus*, and *Charidemus*, for having, at their own Expence, provided your Troops with Shields. And, to mention no more, on account of a parallel Instance of Generosity, you granted the same Honours to *Neoptolemus*, at the very Time that he was entrusted with the Care of a great many publick Works. And indeed, hard would be the Lot of every Man bearing Office amongst you, if he must enjoy it on the Terms of either being restrained from contributing to the Publick out of his own private Property, or else running the Hazard of being called to an Account, instead of receiving Thanks, for his Liberality. To make the Truth of these Assertions appear, take and read the Decrees themselves that were made on those Occasions.

The D E C R E E.

IN the Archonship of Demonicus the Phlyasian, on the Twenty-sixth Day of the Month Boedromion, in pursuance of an Order of the Senate and People of Athens, Callias, the Phrearian, spoke thus. Resolved by the Senate and People, that Nausicles, the General upon Duty, be honoured with a Crown, because he, (when two Thousand Athenian Foot were in (a) Imbros to assist the Colony planted in that Island, and Phialon who was appointed their Pay-Master, could not sail thither by reason of the violent Storms, nor consequently pay off the Soldiers), freely disbursed their Pay out of his own private Fortune, and never demanded it again from the People. And it is hereby further ordered, that the said Crown be proclaimed at the Feasts of Bacchus, during the Representation of the new Tragedies.

(a) Imbros] An Island not far from the Thracian Chersonesus, Thucyd. L. 8.

Thus

The DECREE.

Thus spoke Callias, the Phrearian, the Prytanes proposing it by Order of the Senate. Whereas Charidemus, who had the Command of the Foot in the Expedition to (a) Salamis, and Diotimus, the General of the Horse, did, at their own Expence, arm and furnish some of your Men, who had been plundered by the Enemy in the Battle fought at the River Elissus, with eight hundred Shields. Be it therefore Decreed by the Senate and People, that the said Charidemus and Diotimus be honoured with Golden Crowns, and that Proclamation thereof be made at the grand Feasts of Minerva, at the Gymnick Exercises, at the Feasts of Bacchus, and that the Thesmothetæ, the Prytanes, and the (b) Master of the Revels, take Care to see the said Proclamation duly executed.

35. Every one of these, *Æschines*, was accountable for the Office he bore, but not for those Actions for which he was crowned, and therefore neither am I; for certainly, I have the same Right that others have, in like Cases and Circumstances. I have been liberal to the State, and am therefore thought worthy of Praise; but am, by no Means, accountable on

(b) *Salamis*] An Island adjacent to *Eleusis*, a Town of *Attica*. *Strab. L. 8. Paus. in Attica.*

(c) *Masters of the Revels.* *Αγρονομία* is a general Word applied to all Games and Diversions. Thus *παιταγωγίης* to a Player. *Αγρονομέτης* to the Master of the Musical Entertainments by *Nicand. Of Thyatira*, and *Hesych.* Though by this Word originally, I conceive, they only were intended, who entertained the Publick at their own private Expence. Thus *Αγρονομέτης* is by the *Gloss.* rendered *Munerarius*. A Word, which,

as *Quintilian* observes, was first introduced by *Augustus*, whereas the same Persons were before called *Domini Ludorum*. *Cic. de Leg.* However, as these Entertainments grew numerous, a proper Officer was appointed, to see them regularly performed, and this was the *Αγρονομέτης*, or Master of the Revels. There were Ten of these at *Athens*, one out of every Tribe, who continued in their Office, as *Sigonius* informs us, for the Space of four Years. *De Rep. Athen. L. 4. cap. 7.*

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that Score. I have held Offices, and accounted for my Actions in those Offices, but not for my own Liberalities. But, you will perhaps say, I acted unjustly in the Execution of my Office. If that were so, *Aschines*, why did not you, who were present at the passing of my Accounts with the proper Officers, accuse me in the Instant? But to convince you, that he himself is a Witness, that I was not accountable for any of those Matters, for which the Crown is decreed me, take and read that whole Decree, which conferred it upon me. For since he did not object to any thing in that previous Order of the Senate, It is manifest, that the present Prosecution is nothing else, but the Effect of Spite and Calumny. Read

The D E C R E E.

IN the Archonship of Euthycles, on the Twenty-Second Day of the Month Pyanepsion, the Oenean Tribe exercising the Prytannick Power; Ctesiphon, the Son of Leosthenes, the Anaphlystian, spoke thus. Whereas Demosthenes, the Son of Demosthenes the Pæanean, being constituted Overseer of the Walls, and having expended three Talents of his own Money in repairing and carrying on that Work, which he has freely bestowed to the People; and being likewise appointed Treasurer of the Theatrical Money, he has bestowed over and above their due Quota to each Tribe, the Sum of an Hundred Minæ for Sacrifices. It has therefore seemed proper to the Senate and People of Athens, to shew some Marks of their Esteem for, and Approbation of, the said Demosthenes, the Son of Demosthenes the Pæanean, upon account of his Virtue, and the Good-will he has constantly born to the People of Athens, and to crown him with a Golden Crown, and proclaim it in the Theatre at the Feasts of Bacchus, during the

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Representation of the new Tragedies; and that the Master of the Revels do take Care to see the said Proclamation duly made.

36. Here then, *Æschines*, is an Account of my Liberality to the Commonwealth, which you do not at all think fit to arraign; but the Recompence adjudged to me by the Senate for my Generosity, this is what you condemn. Do you then hold it very lawful to receive a Benefit, but maintain it contrary to Law, to return an Acknowledgement for it? Good Gods! could the most abandoned, the most profligate Wretch upon Earth, discover a baser Disposition? No, by the Gods, he could not; and yet does not *Æschines* own himself to be a Man of these detestable Principles?

As to the Proclamation in the Theatre, I shall not insist on its having been made a thousand and a thousand Times over, on the like Occasions, nor that I my self have been heretofore very frequently crowned in that Place precisely. But, Gods! *Æschines*, can you be so weak and dull of Apprehension, as not to be able to discern, that the Honour of a Crown is the same to the Person on whom it is conferred, in whatever Place Proclamation is made of it; but that it is most for the Advantage of the Bestowers, to have it proclaimed publickly in the Theatre? For, by this Means, there is a noble Ambition kindled in the Hearts of those that hear the Proclamation, to deserve well of the Commonwealth; and the People, who distribute this kind of Rewards, acquire to themselves a great deal more Honour, than they confer on the Person whom they present with a Crown. And for these very Reasons, doubtless, it was, that this Custom has been established in this Commonwealth by a positive Law. Which I desire may now be produced and read.

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LET such as are honoured with a Crown by any of the Boroughs have Proclamation thereof made privately in their respective Boroughs: But if any shall be crowned by the People or Senate of Athens, it shall be lawful to proclaim the Donation of such Crown, in the Theatre, at the great Feasts of Bacchus.

37. Do you hear, *Æschines*, how expressly the Law ordains, that such as are crowned by the whole People, or the Senate, may be proclaimed in the Theatre? Why then, unhappy Man, do you vent so many gross Calumnies? Why do you forge such impertinent Fables? Why have you not Recourse to *Hellobore*, to purge your Head of those Disorders, which have thrown you into so great a Frenzie? Are you not ashamed to prosecute a Man, not out of Indignation of any Crime he has committed, but purely to gratify a Spirit of Envy? And with what Face can you change some Laws entirely in the Quotation, and produce only such Parts of others, as make for your own Purpose, when, in Equity, the whole ought to be read before Men, who are under the most solemn Obligations to form their Judgment by those Laws? After this, to crown the Work, you enumerate the several Qualities that ought to enter into the Composition of a true Commonwealths-man, as if you were giving the Pattern of a Statue you had a Mind for, and then found Fault with the Workman for not making it agreeable to the Model you had given him: As if *Republicans* were to be judged by their Words and Professions, and not by their Conduct and publick Actions. And then, with a full Mouth you throw out, without any Distinction, or the least Regard to

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Decency,

Decency, all (a) the vulgar Reproaches you can possibly think of; *and treat me with Language* much more becoming you, and your Race, than me or mine. And really, O *Athenians*, there is, in my Opinion, this essential Difference between a Libel, and an Accusation; that the latter is supposed always to turn upon Crimes, for which the Law has appointed certain Punishment: Whereas a Libel contains nothing else but general Calumnies and Invectives, which Men at Variance are used to cast out against each other, in Terms of more or less Asperity, according to that of their respective Tempers. But I can never imagine, that our Forefathers erected these Tribunals, that you should suspend the Care of your own Domestick Concerns, and meet in them only for the Pleasure of hearing us slander one another in the most shameful Manner. No, the true Design of them was, that State-Offenders might be legally convicted, and brought to Justice. But, though *Æschines* was apprized of this as well as I, yet he has chosen rather to act the Part of an Inveigher, than of an Accuser.

38. It is therefore agreeable to Justice to recriminate upon him in this Case. This is what I shall now enter upon, after having demanded his Answer to a single Question. Whether do you desire, *Æschines*, to be reputed the Enemy of the Publick, or mine in particular? Mine, you will say, no Doubt. And if so, why did you neglect or defer prosecuting me for any Injustice I had committed, when you might have legally done it, had I been guilty, by preferring an Action against me upon the passing my Accounts,

(d) *All the vulgar Reproaches.*] in Carts or Waggon, from whence
 'ως 'εξ' αμαξῶν, *tanquam ex Plau-* they reviled and reproached all
stro loqui. This was an *Athenian* they met, without Distinction I
 Proverb, borrowed from the Po- have chosen to render this Pas-
 ets, who upon the Feasts of *Bac-* sage into plain *English*, without
chus were carried about the City alluding to the Custom.

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upon my being impeach'd for publick Misdemeanours, or upon my being brought into Judgment for several other Things, since that Time. But after I have been fully declared innocent by Laws, by Length of Time, nay, by the very Time prefixed by the Laws for such Arraignments, as well as by many positive Decisions made in my Favour upon all those Occasions; after it has been acknowledged, that not the least Stain of Injustice can be fixed upon me; but, on the contrary, that all my publick Administrations have brought more or less Glory to my Country; Then is it, that you take an Opportunity to accuse me? Take heed, that the People do not find you, notwithstanding all your specious Pretences, to be their Enemy in Reality, and mine only in Appearance.

39. Having thus laid before you, what may be sufficient to determine your Judgment in this Cause, according to Justice, and the solemn Ties you lye under; I am now, (as it seems), obliged, however naturally averse to reproaching any Man, to mention a few severe but necessary Truths, in return for the many Calumnies and Falsehoods he has heaped together against me; and to shew you, who, and from whom descended this worthy Person is, who is so ready to cast his Reflections upon others, and turn their Expressions to ridicule, when he has himself taken such Freedoms, as no Man would have allowed himself in, who was not entirely divested of all kind of Shame. Had either (a) *Æacus*, (b) *Rhadamanthus*, or (c) *Minos*, been to

(a) <i>Æacus</i>] The Son of Jupiter and <i>Ægina</i>, King of <i>Oenopia</i>, which from his Mother's Name he called <i>Ægina</i>. The Reputation of his Justice was so great, that after his Death, he was said to be made by <i>Pluto's</i>	Commission one of the three Judges of the Infernal Bench.
(b) <i>Rhadamanthus</i>] A Cretan Legislator, so famous for Justice, that he was made, if we believe Fables, one of the Judges of Hell.	(c) <i>Minos</i>] A King of <i>Crete</i>, accuse

accuse me, instead of this impertinent Babler, this Retailer of Precedents, this pitiful Draftsman, I am confident, none of them would have expressed themselves, or dealt in such odious Ribaldry, as he has done; one while crying out, like an Actor in a Tragedy, *O Earth, O Heavens, O Virtue!* And then again, invoking all *Science* whether natural or acquired, necessary for discerning the Difference betwixt Right and Wrong. For it was in this Manner you heard him a while ago declaiming. Impudent Wretch! What Affinity can you, or any of your Generation, lay claim to with Virtue? What Knowledge have you of Right and Wrong? Whence hadst thou, or how didst thou acquire that part of Wisdom? And what Right have you to mention acquired Learning, when those that are really possessed of it, far from boasting their own Progress in it, cannot bear even to hear others praise them on that Account, without a Blush? But such vain Pretenders as you, are the only Persons, that love to make an Ostentation of their Learning, though they commonly derive no other Advantage from their Vanity, than to persecute those, that have the Misfortune to hear them, instead of begetting in them an Opinion of their Abilities.

40. But, though I am under no Manner of Difficulty as to what may with Justice be said relating to you, and your Family; yet I am really at a Loss, where to begin amidst such a Variety of Matter. Shall I mention, how your Father *Tromes* went about fettered and Neck-yoaked in the Quality of a Slave to *Elpias*, who kept School near the Temple of *Theseus*? Shall I mention, how your venerable Mother, main-

the Son of *Jupiter* by *Europa*. | his Death made Chief Judge in
He first gave Laws to the *Cretans*; | Hell.
and, for his Justice, was after

tained

tained this pretty (a) Puppet, this excellent under-Player, by prostituting herself to all Comers, at the Porch of *Calamite* the Hero? Or shall I relate, how she was called away from this virtuous Occupation, by *Phormio*, that Piper to a Galley, who was the Slave of *Dion* the *Phrearian*?

41. But, by *Jupiter* and all the Gods, I am afraid, lest in speaking of you according to your Deserts, I should fall into Indecencies unworthy of my self. I shall therefore wave all Discourse of these Matters, and immediately begin the History of his own Life and Actions. For, he has not been always the considerable Person he now appears, but (b) one of those whom the People curse. It is but of late, very lately, I say, hardly longer since than yesterday, that he has grown up into a Citizen and Orator of *Athens*; and by Virtue (c) of two Syllables added to his Father's Name, metamorphosed the humble *Tromes* into the worshipful *Atrometus*. And, as to his Mother, her he has dignified with the genteel Name of *Glaucothea*, a Lady formerly known to all the World only by the Name

(a) This pretty Puppet] The Scholiast says, *Æschines* was a very little Man; though *Plutarch* says, he was of a robust Body. *ἑρπαινεύει τὸ σωματί.*

(b) But one of those whom the People curse] That is, a Traytor. It was the Custom of the *Athenians* in their Assemblies, before they entered upon Business, to make the Cryer offer up a Prayer to the Gods for Success upon their Counsels, to bless all worthy Citizens, and to curse such as should betray their Coun-

try. *Demost.* *περὶ παραπρεσβείας*

(c) And by Virtue of two Syllables, &c.] It was thought a Presumption at *Athens*, and a Sort of lessening the free-born Citizens, to call Slaves by any Name that was in use amongst them. If any Man was so bold, as to give his Servant the Name of a Person of Quality, or Honour, it was a signal Affront. Hence a Law was enacted, that no Person should presume to call any of his Servants by the Names of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*

(a) Name of *Empusa*, which Title seems to have been conferred upon her on account of her admirable Proficiency in all the Arts of Lasciviousness: For what other Reason can be assigned for it? yet, notwithstanding all this, so ungrateful are you, and of so perverse a Dis-

giron, two famous Patriots, who with Courage and Resolution opposed the Tyranny of the Sons of *Pisistratus*. *Alex. ab Alex. L. 3. c. 20.* The most common Names, as *Strabo* reports, *L. 7.* used in *Athens*, were *Geta* and *Davus*, being taken from the *Getes* and *Daci*, who, as he conjectures, were formerly called *Δαῦτι*, or *Davi*. They seldom consisted of above two Syllables; and therefore *Demost-*

henes having objected to *Æschines*, that his Father was a Slave, tells him farther as a Proof of what he affirmed, that he had falsified his Name, calling him *Atrometus*, whereas in reality it was *Tromes*. The Reason of this seems to have been, that their Names being short, might be more easily and quickly pronounced. Upon the same Account *Oppian* advises to give Dogs short Names.

Οὐνόματα συνάμεινον
Βάλα τ' ἄν, δὲ πάντα δὸν ἵνα εὐξίν' ἀκύν.

*Let Hounds that are design'd for Game and Sport,
Have Names impos'd, that easie be and short,
Lest at the Huntsman's Call they trace in vain,
And run with open Cry confus'dly o'er the Plain*

Hence it was common for Slaves, who had recovered their Freedom, to change their servile Names for others, which had more Syllables; as *Stephanus* for *Philostephanus*. *Pot. Ant.*

(a) By the Name of *Empusa*.] *Empusa* was a wanton Spectre, that could transform it self into any shape, and sometimes it took that of a Woman. *Aristoph.* in *Ranis*. It had but one Leg, so that it always appeared hopping. This Hop-goblin is a mighty ridiculous Representative of Lady *Glaucorhea*. One would imagine, that *Demosthenes* intended to

chase away *Æschines*, in the same manner, that it's said this Phantom *Empusa* is to be put to flight, that is, by very bad Language and Scolding it heartily. *Phil.* in *vita Apol. Ty. L. 2. c. 4.* After all, *Glaucorhea* has better Usage from others. *Suidas* calls her *πλεῖστα*, a Retainer to the Female Priesthood in Initiations. *Photius* says, she was *Ἰερεῖα*, a Priestess. But by another she is called *τυμπανιστῆς*; *Luc.* in *son.* that is, a kind of a *Minstrel* that beat the Tabour in the Feasts of *Cybele*.

positis

position that, though your Fellow-Citizens have changed your Slavery into Liberty, and your Poverty into Affluence, yet you make them no other return, than to become a Pensioner to their Enemies, and to employ to their Destruction the Powers of every Office with which they have ever entrusted you.

42. But I shall not now enter on the Consideration of any thing he has said, which may render it doubtful, whether his Intentions towards the Commonwealth have been good or ill. I shall only beg leave to refresh your Memories, by laying before you those Matters only, wherein he has been detected of having acted in favour of the publick Enemy in the Sight of the whole World. Who is there among you, that does not know, how (a) *Antiphon* had engaged to *Philip* to set Fire to your Arsenal, and stole into the City, out of which he had been driven by a publick Decree, to accomplish the Design? That I my self having found him lurking about the *Piræus*, seized him, and dragged him into the Assembly, where this Miscreant *Æschines* cried out, and exclaimed against me, ‘ that I was acting too tyrannically in a free Country, that I insulted over the Miseries of unfortunate Citizens, and entered their Houses ‘ in an unwarrantable manner, whereby he managed Matters so, that the Criminal was discharged without the formality of a Trial? And had not the Senate of *Areopagus*, upon Information of what had been do-

(a) How *Antiphon* had engaged. This *Antiphon* was first looked upon to be an *Athenian*. But when the Registers of the Boroughs came to be examined according to Custom, in order to discover, if any Person, who was not a Native of *Attica*, had by indirect means, procured himself to be enrolled among the Natives; he was discovered to be a Foreigner, and was accordingly rejected and stripped of the Privileges of an *Athenian*. This treatment he highly resented, and therefore went off to *Philip*, and promised him to steal privately into *Athens*, and set Fire to the Arsenal of the *Athenians*. *Ulp.*

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ing, and of the oversight you had committed in so critical a Conjunction, caused new search to be made after him, and apprehending him, brought him back before you, that Traytor had been snatched away, and escaped the Hands of Justice by the aid and assistance of this pompous and deep-mouthed Declaimer ; instead of which, you put him to the Torture, and afterwards punished him with Death, as you ought also to have done by this his Advocate. The Court of *Areopagus* also well apprized of the Merits and Actions of this worthy Personage, when they saw you afterwards act with the same imprudence which had so often been attended with mischievous Consequences to the Publick, in electing him one of your (b) Deputies to the Temple of (a) *Delos* ; as soon, I say, as they were convened, and had the whole matter laid before them, immediately *Æschines* was rejected by them as a Traytor, and *Hyperides* appointed Deputy in his stead. All which was transacted in the most solemn manner at the Altar, where this Miscreant had not so much as one Vote in his Favour. That I have advanced nothing but what is true, call me hither the Witnesses of these Facts.

The WITNESSES.

‘ The following Persons, namely, *Callias* the *Sunian*, *Zeno* the *Phlyasian*, *Cleon* the *Phalerean*, and *Demonicus* of *Marathon*, being produced as Witnesses on the Part of *Demosthenes*, do all attest ; that some time

(a) *Delos*.] An Island, and in it a City with a Temple consecrated to *Apollo*. *Thucid. L, 3.*

(b) *Deputies*.] *Σύδιστοι*, were Orators appointed by the People, to plead in behalf of any Law, which was to be abrogated, or enacted. They were likewise,

according to *Sigonius*, sent to foreign Courts in quality of Deputies, to solicit and plead in behalf of their own Country. They were first created upon the expulsion of the *thirty Tyrants*. *Harpocrat.*

ago, when the People elected *Æschines* to act as Deputy for them at the Temple of *Delos* in the Council of the *Amphiſtyones*, we in full Assembly judged *Hyperides* to be a much fitter Person to plead in behalf of this Republick, and accordingly *Hyperides* was ſent.

43. It plainly appears by the Preference given to the one, and the excluſion of the other, from the Office of Deputy, that the Senate conſidered him as a Traytor, and an Enemy to his Country. Here then, in this ſingle Circumſtance you have an Inſtance of this warm Proſecutor's civil Character; ſuch an Inſtance, as is indeed very like him, but bears no reſemblance to any of thoſe Crimes, which he lays to my charge. And now give me leave to reſreſh your Memory with another. When *Philip* diſpatched *Python* the *Byzantine* to *Thebes*, and had likewiſe taken care to have Embaſſadors from all his Allies and Confederates ſent along with him, with intent to diſgrace our Commonwealth, and to ſhew, that we had been guilty of various acts of injuſtice; then it was, that I neither gave way, (a) nor ſubmitted in the leaſt to *Python*, who inſolently inveighed, and poured out his opprobrious Eloquence, like a Torrent, againſt you. No; I boldly ſtood up, and contradicted him

(a) Nor ſubmitted in the leaſt to *Python*.] This Paſſage did not happen at *Athens*, but in the Council of the *Bæotians*. After the Conqueſt of *Elatæa*, when *Philip* threatened to march againſt *Athens*, the *Athenians* ſent to demand the Aſſiſtance of the *Bæotians*. The Alliance being entered into, and the Troops aſſembled at *Chæronea*, *Philip* ſent his Embaſſadors to the Community of *Bæotia*, at the Head of which was *Python*, who paſſed for the greateſt Orator of his Time. This Man in a very elegant Diſcourſe vehemently inveighed againſt the *Athenians*. *Demosthenes* answered him *extempore*, and got the better of him, and was ſo proud of his Victory, that he ſpeaks of it here as a matter of great importance, and values himſelf at no ſmall rate for it.

to

to his Face, nor did I in any respect betray the just Rights and Priviledges of my Country; but convicted *Philip* of injustice, and detected his Treachery so very clearly and plainly, that even his own Confederates stood up, and owned it. *Æschines*, on the contrary, acted in concert with them, and was not only a Witness against his Country, but a false Witness. Nor did he stop here; but soon after, was discovered going to *Thraso's* House in Conference with *Anaxinus* the Spy. And certainly, whoever holds secret Correspondence, and converses in private with the Emissaries of an Enemy, must be judged to be in reality nothing better than a Spy himself, and a publick Enemy to his Country. For the Truth of these Facts I appeal to the Witnesses. Call them.

The WITNESSES.

‘ *Meledemus* the Son of *Cleon*, *Hyperides* the Son of
 ‘ *Calæschrus*, and *Nicomachus* the Son of *Diophantus*,
 ‘ being duly sworn before the Generals, do bear
 ‘ witness for *Demosthenes*; that they saw *Æschines*
 ‘ the Son of *Atrometus* the *Cothocidean*, going by
 ‘ Night, in company with *Anaxinus*, into *Thraso's*
 ‘ House, and holding a Conversation with the said *A-*
 ‘ *naxinus*, who was publickly declared by the People
 ‘ of *Athens* to be one of the Spies of *Philip*. These
 ‘ Depositions were taken in the *Archonship* of *Nicias*,
 ‘ upon the third Day of the Month *Hecatombæon*.

44. Though it were easie to give innumerable other Instances of this kind of Conduct in *Æschines*; yet I forbear it, in regard, what I have already said, is enough to shew, that in all his Actions he has constantly kept up to the same Character. I could also give you a great many Testimonies how, in those Times, he was no less remarkable for his Enmity to me, than for his Services to your Enemies: Yet you neither retained any memory

mory of these Things, nor resented them in the manner that became you. On the contrary, by giving too much way to a long-continued unhappy Custom of permitting every one that pleases to undermine and villifie such of your Orators as propose any thing for the publick Advantage, you have postpon'd the good of your Country to the impertinent Pleasure of hearing Calumnies and Invectives. From whence it is come to pass, that it is much easier and safer for a Hireling to promote the Interest of your Enemies, than for a faithful Citizen, devoted to your Service, to exercise any publick Office among you.

45. But, *he will object*, By the immortal Gods, It was a Crime of the first Magnitude to assist *Philip* thus openly, even before the War broke out: For how could it be otherwise, when it was such an Injury to our Country? But grant him, if you please, grant him all this, yet after our Ships were openly seized, the *Chersonesus* ravaged, *Attica* actually invaded by this Man of *Macedon*, and the state of Affairs no longer doubtful, but War kindled at our very Gates, by what one Action did ever this scandalous Railer, this (a) saty-
rical Scribler, discover the least Inclination to do you Service? There do not appear the least Footsteps of any Decree proposed by *Æschines*, that had even the remotest Tendency towards the publick Good. If he dares advance the contrary, let him produce his Proofs;

(a) *This satyirical Scribler.*] seems to insinuate, that *Æschines* writes even his Accusations, in the Language of the Stage, that his very Harangues are *Jambics* and *Satyrs*, and that to this Artifice alone he owes the Attention of the Audience, according to that Property of the *Jambic*.
I do not find that *Æschines* is any where charged with the Guilt of Poetry, unless his Epistles, which are inscribed to the Muses, (as the Books of *Herodotus* are), may draw him in for it. I rather imagine then, that *Demosthenes* in this Place, means no more, than to keep the Player still in view. He

Et Populares vincentem Strepitus, &c.
Hor.

he

he shall have full liberty, even though he should speak upon my Hour-glass. But certain it is, that nothing of this sort can ever be made appear. From whence it must necessarily follow, that one or other of these two Things is true; either, that it was impossible to find any Fault with my Conduct, because he proposed no Decree contrary to what I had proposed; or that his Attachment to your Enemies withheld him from advising you better. And was it then only, that he chose to forbear either speaking or writing, when he beheld you threatened with any impending Danger? A fine time indeed to be silent, which afforded the fairest Occasions for speaking!

46. But, perhaps, the Commonwealth might have pardoned him all his other secret Practices and wicked Designs, had he not crowned all the rest, by one daring act of Perfidiousness: An act, O *Athenians*, which he has endeavoured to disguise as much as possible, by a long and tedious Enumeration of certain Decrees of the *Amphisseans*, and *Locrians*; hoping, by that means, either to conceal, or give a wrong colour to the Truth. But he has not succeeded herein. For, how is it possible for Truth to give way to Falsehood? That never can be. Neither will you ever be able, *Æschines*, by all you can alledge, to wash off the Guilt of the Crimes which you at that time committed. And here in your presence, O Men of *Athens*, I invoke all the Gods and Goddesses, Defenders of *Attica*, (a) and chiefly the *Pythian Apollo*, acknowledged for the tutelar Divinity of this Commonwealth, and conjure them all, to grant me Happiness, as I now speak truly, or did speak, when I first discovered this Miscreant engaged in such desperate Conspiracy; (for discover him I did, and discovered

(a) And chiefly the Pythian } duce the fatal Circumstance of
Apollo. } This Invocation is with } the dedicated Ground.
no other Design, than to intro-

him

him most seasonably), or to deprive me of every thing valuable in Life, if either out of Envy, or any other personal Antipathy, I accuse him of any Crime, of which he is not really guilty. But why, some one perhaps may ask, all these terrible Imprecations, and why, such impetuous and vehement Exclamations? Why truly, for this Reason alone, that though both the publick Records, and your own Memory afford you more than sufficient Proofs of the Facts; yet I am always afraid, he may seem too mean and inconsiderable a Person, to be reputed the Author of such mighty Calamities; much what like happened, when, by imposing on us with his false Reports, he conspired the total Ruin of the unhappy *Phocians*.

47. For, the *Amphissean* War which occasioned *Philip's* marching to *Elatea*; which caused him to be chosen Generalissimo of the *Amphictyones*; and which, in a Word, enabled him to overturn the Constitution of all *Greece*: This is the Man, who contriv'd and kindled that fatal War; This the Man, who alone plunged us into all our Miseries and Misfortunes. And then, when I instantly protested against his Proceedings, and cryed out in the General Assembly, [*You are involving Attica in War, Æschines, in War with the Amphictyones*], some of his Creatures, whom he had convened there for that Purpose, would not permit me to proceed; while others stood amazed to think, that I had out of a private Pique thus falsely charged him with an imaginary Crime. What therefore O *Athenians*, the Nature of the Transactions of those Times was; with what View all his Measures were concerted; and how they were brought to pass, you shall now hear, since at that Time, you were not permitted to do it. And here you will see a Design perfectly well laid and concerted, from whence you will receive no small Light into the general State of Affairs, and perceive,
with

with what singular Dexterity, *Philip* managed Matters in that critical Conjunction.

48. *Philip* was very sensible, he could never bring the War with you to a good Issue, until he had first rendered the *Thebans* and *Theſſalians* Enemies to our Republick; but, though your Generals engaged him in a cowardly Manner, and therefore failed of Success; yet he was a great Sufferer in many Respects, as well by the War it self, as by the Depredations of Pirates. For, neither could he export any Goods out of his Country, or import into it any thing, of which he stood in need; neither had he at that Time a Power at Sea superior to yours, or any Way of invading *Attica*, unless either the *Theſſalians* joined him, or the *Thebans* gave him a free Passage through their Territories. So that, whatever Advantage he had gained by the Conduct of the Generals you sent against him, (into which it is not my present Business to enquire), yet amidst all his Victories he had innumerable Difficulties to struggle through, both from the natural Situation of the Place, and the Posture of his own Affairs, as well as yours. If in order to induce the *Theſſalians*, and *Thebans* to make War upon you, he should alledge no other Argument besides his own particular Enmity to you, he very well knew, it would have no Manner of Influence upon either of them. But if, under Pretence of espousing their Common Interests, he could once draw them in to choose him their Captain-General, he did not doubt bringing them easily into his Measures, either by Perswasions, or other Artifices. How then does he set about it? Behold; and admire his Policy! He stirred up a War against the *Amphictyones*, and created Divisions in their Convention at the *Pylæ*, concluding, that could he once bring Matters to that Pass, they would be obliged to fly to him for Assistance. He also judged very rightly, that should he employ, as his Agent in this

Affair

Affair, either any one of the *Hieromnemons*, or of his own Allies, both the *Thebans* and *Theffalians* would suspect the Business, and be immediately upon their Guard. But if he could get an *Athenian* to negotiate this Matter, and be served by one of you who were his declared Enemies, he was confident, he should be able to conceal his Designs, till they became Ripe for Execution. All which fell out exactly as he had projected.

49. But by what Means did he bring this Design to bear? Why, by Bribing this my worthy Accuser. After which, as I apprehend, it happened, by your Negligence and Want of Foresight, to which you have been so long accustomed, that he was raised to the Office of *Pylagoras*, by the Suffrages and Intrigues of three or four factious Persons. Thus being invested with the Character of the Minister of *Athens*, he no sooner appeared among the *Amphictyones*, than, neglecting and despising every thing else, he set himself wholly to the Business for which he had been hired. With this View, he makes a long and specious Harangue, pieced up of idle and ridiculous Fables, concerning the Consecration of the *Cyrrhean* Lands, by which he imposed in such a Manner on the Credulity of the unwary and inexperienced *Hieromnemons*, that they were prevailed upon, to order that Tract to be viewed all over, which the *Amphisseans* cultivated, and claimed as their own. He complained, that these sacred Lands were sacrilegiously profaned and usurped by them, though the *Locrians* never had preferred any Action against us, nor set up any of those imaginary Pretensions, with which he now endeavours to colour his base Proceedings. You will easily perceive the Truth of what I say, from this single Consideration: The *Locrians* could not by any Means have carried their Cause against this State, without previously summoning us. But who

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is

is there that did summon us? Or by whose Authority was it done? Tell us, *Æschines*, and shew us the Man that knows any thing of this Matter. But indeed you cannot; and only take Shelter in a false and vain Subterfuge of your own.

50. While the *Amphictyones*, at the Instigation of this Traytor, were making their Progress round the Lands in Dispute; the *Locrians* fell upon them suddenly, and poured such a Shower of Arrows upon them, that they had very near entirely destroyed them. Several of the *Hieromnemons* themselves became their Prisoners. War and Contention being by these Means immediately kindled against the *Amphisseans*, *Cottyphus* was appointed Commander in Chief of the *Amphictyonic* Forces. But when it appeared, that several States did not send their Proportion of Troops, and that others who came, yet remained unactive; certain of the old disaffected *Thessalians*, in Conjunction with some Malecontents of other States, the Creatures of *Philip*, found out several specious and plausible Pretences, at the next General Assembly at the *Pylæ*, for raising him to the Supreme Command. They pretended, that they should either be obliged to levy Money among themselves for the Maintenance of a Foreign Force, and to fine such as would not contribute to it; or else to choose *Philip* for their General. But what need I say more? Choose him they did; and that, for the very Reasons I have now given. Immediately upon this, he assembles his Forces, and pretending that he was marching against *Cyrrhea*, though underhand he acquainted the *Cyrrheans* and *Locrians* that they need not labour under the least Apprehensions with regard to their Safety, he made himself Master of *Elatea*. And at this Juncture, unless the *Thebans* had very suddenly changed their Intentions, and taken part with you, the whole Fury of the War must have been, like a mighty Torrent, poured upon this
Common-

Commonwealth. But this unexpected Counterpace of theirs, put a very sudden Stop to his Progress; a Deliverance, which, O *Athenians*, you ought principally to ascribe to some of the Divine Powers interposing in an unusual Manner in your Favour; and next, as much as it is in the Power of one Man's Virtue, to my constant and unwearied Endeavours for your Service. But produce the Decrees, and read the respective Dates of the several Transactions, to the End, you may see what mighty Disturbances have been raised by a Head so perversly and unhappily turned; and this, without ever having been once censured, or so much as called hitherto to an Account for them. Read me the Decrees.

The Decree of the *Amphictyones*.

§1. *In the (1) Pontificate of Clinagoras, at a Council held in Spring. Resolved by the Pylagoræ and the Assessors of the Amphictyones, That, whereas the Amphisseans do trespass upon the sacred Ground, do cultivate and graze their Cattle on it, the said Pylagoræ and their Assessors do go thither immediately, and mark out the Bounds of it with Pillars, and enjoin the Amphisseans to commit no more Trespass for the time to come.*

(a) *In the Pontificate, &c.]* It seems, that a *Holy War* was as readily projected under a *Pagan Pontificate*, as a *Crusade* under a *Popish one*: And both perhaps with the same View, that is, not to restore the Property to the injured Deity, but to transfer the Possession to themselves. Be this as it will, it is plain from this Passage, that whenever a Piece of Ground was dedicated to the Honour of the

Gods, the sacrilegious Invasion of this Inclosure, was looked upon, not only as an Outrage against Heaven, but an Usurpation upon the Common Rights of Mankind. St. Paul puts a Shocking Question, *Rom. ii. v. 22. Thou that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit Sacrilege?* There was a Time, when it would have puzzled the best Heads in Europe to have given a tolerable Answer to it.

Another DECREE.

In the Pontificate of Clinagoras at a Council held in Spring. Resolved by the Pylagoræ, their Assessors, and the General Council of the Amphictyones, That whereas the People of Amphyssa, have not only cantoned out among themselves the sacred Ground, but cultivate and graze their Cattle on it, and when enjoined to do so no more, rose up in Arms, forcibly repelled the General Council of Greece, and wounded some of its Members; particularly Cottyphus the Arcadian, General of the Amphictyones; that therefore, I say, an Ambassador with full Power be elected and dispatched to Philip of Macedon, to require him to help Apollo, and the Amphictyones, and not see the God so injuriously treated by the impious Amphisseans; and farther, to acquaint him, that all the Greeks, who are present at the General Council of the Amphictyones, do elect him Captain-General with full Power to do whatsoever he shall judge most expedient.

Read me now the respective Dates of the Times, in which these Matters were transacted; for, it will appear, that they are the very same, wherein *Æschines* bore the Office of *Pylagoras*. Read

The Times.

In the Archonship of Mnesticides, on the sixteenth Day of the Month Anthesterion.

Give me also the Letter, which *Philip*, when the *Thebans* refused to obey his Orders, sent to his Allies in *Peloponnesus*; for, from thence you will clearly see, that he concealed the true Motives of his Conduct, namely, his Design upon *Greece*, the *Thebans*, and upon your Commonwealth; though he pretended he

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had nothing else in View but the Publick Good, in Obedience to the Decree of the *Amphictyones*. But *Æschines* was the Man that gave him an Opportunity, and furnished him with Pretences to carry on all his pernicious Designs. Read

PHILIP'S LETTER.

PHILIP, King of the Macedonians, To the respective Magistrates of his Confederates in Peloponnesus, and their Assessors, and to all other his Allies, Greeting. Whereas the Locrians, called Ozolæ, who inhabit Amphissa, have notoriously violated the Temple of Apollo at Delphos, and do by Force of Arms ravage and plunder the sacred Ground belonging to it; I am Resolved, in Conjunction with you, to help the God, and take Vengeance of those impious Wretches who presume thus to prophane and trample upon the Religious Rights of Mankind. Do you therefore meet me in Arms at Phocis, and take care to bring with you forty Days Provision, this instant Month (a) called by us, Lous; according to the Athenian Stile, Boedromion; and according to the Corinthian, Panemus. All those who meet me in Obedience to this our Order, with all their Forces, we shall take into our Council of War, but those who do not, we are resolved to Fine. Farewel.

52. You see how he conceals his real Motives, and has Recourse to those afforded him by the *Amphictyones*.

(a) Lous.] A Month in the Macedonian Kalendar, which answered to the Month Boedromion in the Athenian. But Plutarch (in *Alexandro*) and Galenus, would make it answer to the Month Hecatombæon: And therefore Petavius (in *Doct. Temp. L. 1. 30.*) says, that if this Place of Demosthenes be not so corrupt-

ed that some other Month should be substituted either in the room of Lous, or Boedromion, it must be granted, that by some Defect of the Lunar Cycle, or common Computation of the Year, it has happened, that these Months have from their own Places been removed into the Places of others.

nes. But who was it concerted all those Measures with him ? Who furnished him with these Pretences ? And who was the principal Author of all the Calamities that have come upon us ? Was it any other than this very *Eschines* ? Yet, do not, O *Athenians*, as you are walking together, ascribe the Misfortunes of *Greece* to one Man alone. For, I call Heaven and Earth to Witness, they were not the Work of one Man, but of a Multitude of abandoned Wretches dispersed through all the States of *Greece* ; the principal Man of whom you have now before you ; a Person, of whom I will venture to say, though it may seem a bold Truth, that he has been the Fountain of all the Miseries, which, of late Years, have been poured out upon Men, Countries, and States. For, the Sower of the Grain, is the Father of the Harvest. And indeed it is to me Matter of no small Wonder, that you should not have discovered him long before now, and treated him as his Crimes have deserved. But, it seems, that Clouds of impervious Darkness have intercepted the bright Rays of Truth from your Eyes. This short Recital of the Crimes he has committed against his Country, into which I have fallen, now leads me to give you an Account of what Measures I took to render his Designs abortive. You owe me a Hearing, O *Athenians*, on this Head, for many Reasons ; but chiefly for this one, that it would be a Shame for you, if, after having undergone so many Labours, and so many Hardships, on your Account, you should not have Patience enough to bear a single Recapitulation of them. As soon therefore as I perceived both you and the *Thebans* to be lulled asleep by the Artifices of *Philip's* Emissaries and Hirelings, whom he had among both People, so as to neglect the main Point about which you ought to have been solicitous, namely, the putting a Stop to *Philip's* growing Greatness ; and instead of considering the Dangers arising from it, which equally threatened

threatened you, entirely taken up with private Quarrels and Animosities among your selves. No sooner, I say, did I observe this, than I set about preventing this Disorder with my utmost Diligence and Care. Nor was I determined in this Matter merely by my own Judgment; but observed how carefully both *Aristophon*, and *Eubulus*, always studied to compose any Differences that arose among you; and found them, however disagreeing in most other Matters, yet perpetually concurring in This. Those very Persons, *Æschines*, whom you, with your usual Diffimulation, courted in the most servile Manner in their Life-time, yet blush not to vilifie them now in the Grave: For, whatever you lay to my Charge in relation to the *Thebans*, reflects less upon me, than upon them, in regard, they were zealous Promoters of that Alliance, long before I came to be concerned in the Business of the Publick. But to return.

It was at the Time, when this Wretch had kindled the *Amphissean* War, and He, and his Accompllices had set us at Variance with the *Thebans*, that *Philip* took the Opportunity of invading us, which was the very Thing these Incendiaries had in View, in fomenting Animosities between the two Commonwealths. So that, had we not roused our selves seasonably, before the Blow was struck, we should never have been able to recover from so terrible a Shock, to such a Precipice were Affairs brought by the wicked Arts of these Men. How you and the *Thebans* at that time stood affected to each other, will best appear by your own Decrees, and *Philip's* Resentment of them, expressed in his Answers. I desire they may be read.

The DECREE.

IN the Archonship of Heropythus, on the Twenty-fifth Day of the Month Elaphebolion, the Erechthean Tribe exercising the Prytannick Power, it is Resolved by the Advice of the Senate and Generals, That, whereas Philip has made himself Master of some adjacent Cities, has actually demolished others, and, in a Word, is making Preparation to invade Attica, in manifest Contempt of the League subsisting betwixt us, and seems resolved to break the Peace and his Oath too, in direct Violation of the Publick Faith; it is Resolved, I say, That Embassadors be sent to confer with, and perswade him, in the first Place, to preserve on his Part, a good Understanding with us, and not to commit any Infractions of our Treaties; but in case, he will not be perswaded to consent to this, then to desire him to grant our State time to deliberate, and to make a Truce till the Month Thargelion. Symus the Anagyrfasian, Euthydemus the Phlyasian, and Bulagoras the Alopian, were elected out of the Senate.

Another DECREE.

IN the Archonship of Heropythus, on the last Day of the Month Munichion, by the Advice of the Polemarch. Whereas Philip makes his strongest Efforts to alienate the Thebans from us, and is preparing to march with his whole Army against Places on the Frontiers of Attica, in Violation of the League and Treaty subsisting betwixt us; It is therefore resolved by the Senate and People of Athens, to send a Herald at Arms, and also Embassadors to him, to require and perswade him to make a Truce, that the People may deliberate concerning the present Exigency of Affairs; for, that as Matters

stand

stand at present, they apprehend they ought to send extraordinary Succour to their Friends, to oppose him. Nearchus the Son of Sosinomos, and Polycrates the Son of Epiphron were elected Embassadors out of the Senate; and Eunomus the Anaphlystian, was chosen Herald from among the People. Now read the Answers of Philip.

Philip's Answer to the Athenians.

PHILIP, King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Athens, Greeting. How you stood affected to me from the Beginning I am not ignorant, nor how earnestly you laboured to bring over to your Party the Thessalians and Thebans, together with the Bœotians; but, when you found they were too wise to be guided by your Counsels, contrary to their own Interests, you now truly change your Conduct, and send Embassadors and Heralds to me, to put me in mind of Treaties and to obtain a Truce, whereas I have not committed the least Act of Hostility against you. For my Part, I have given Audience to your Embassadors, am ready to grant all your Demands, and to make a Truce, provided you banish your evil Counsellours, and brand them with Infamy as they deserve. Farewel.

Philip's Answer to the Thebans.

PHILIP, King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Thebes, Greeting. I received your Letter, wherein you remind me of the good Understanding and Harmony, as well as Peace, subsisting betwixt your Republick and Me. I hear the Athenians have made all Efforts imaginable to bring you in to second their Demands upon me. At first indeed, I was apprehensive they might have misled you by fair Promises, and prevailed

prevailed upon you to come into their Measures ; but am now glad to find, you are rather disposed to live in Peace and Amity with us, than to pursue the Schemes of others. I cannot but applaud your Conduct for many Reasons, but more particularly, for having, as Things now stand, taken the safest Course, and preserved Friendship with me ; which will, no doubt, be of signal Advantage to you, provided you stand firm to your Resolution. Farewel.

53. *Philip*, having by these Means sowed Diffen-
tion between you and the *Thebans*, and being greatly
Elated with these Decrees and Answers, marched
his Forces, and made himself Master of *Elatea* ;
fully perswading himself, that let him attempt whate-
ver he pleased, you, and the *Thebans*, would never be
brought to so good an Intelligence, as to unite in op-
posing him. But, though you all remember the Con-
fusion and Consternation raised in the City on that
Occasion, give me leave to remind you of a few Cir-
cumstances most material to the present Purpose. It
(a) was late in the Evening, when a Messenger arri-
ved, and acquainted the *Prytanes*, that (b) *Elatea* was
taken. Upon this News, great Numbers of People
at their Suppers, rising immediately from Table,
thronged to the Forum, drove away the Brokers,
and burned their Booths. Others sent to find out the
General ; and others cried out for the Trumpeter.

(a) *It was late in the Eve-* | *sert any low, and superfluous*
ning.] This Passage, wherein the | *Particularities, or such as favour*
Orator makes a proper Choice | *of the Schools. For, in Truth,*
of the most considerable Circum- | *the insisting upon little Things,*
stances, and judiciously cements | *spoils all ; and is like filling up*
them together, is celebrated by | *the Chinks and Gaps in a mag-*
Longinus, as a beautiful Model of | *nificent Structure, with Rubbish.*
a regular Description. ' He has | *(b) *Elatea.*] A City of *Phocis*,*
' only culled out, says he, and | *on the River *Cephissus*, confining*
' carefully put together the most | *on the *Locrians*, in the Streights*
' material Circumstances ; taking | *of the *Phocian* Mountains. *Strab.**
' care, at the same time, not to in- | *L. 9.*

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In short, the whole City was in the greatest Confusion and Uproar. The next Morning, the *Prytanes* summoned the Senators, by the Break of Day, to the Senate-House ; and the People, of their own accord, met in Assembly. But before the Senate could even enter upon Business or come to any Resolution, the whole Body of the People were seated in the Gallery. The Senate being sat, the *Prytanes* gave them an Account of the Advices they had received, and produced the Messenger himself, who related the whole Matter at large. Then the Crier with a loud Voice demanded, Who will make an Oration ? But no Person offered himself. And notwithstanding the Invitation was often repeated, yet no one stood up, though all your Generals, though all your Orators were present, and though the common Voice of our Country called upon every one to give his Opinion for the Publick Safety : For, the Voice of the Crier pronouncing the Language of the Laws, is at all Times, most justly to be esteemed the Voice of a Country. And indeed, had it lain upon all who wished well to their Country, to speak upon such an Occasion, there was not one amongst you, but what would have ascended the Rostrum with Pleasure ; for, all of you, I am certain, were her Well-wishers. If it belonged to the Rich to undertake this Province, then it lay upon the Three-hundred, *who are so remarkably distinguished from all others by their Wealth.* But, if it was only incumbent on those who possessed the united Qualifications of Riches, and Affection to the State, then ought it to have fallen upon those generous Citizens, who have most liberally contributed to the Publick Necessities : For, they could not have been enabled to exercise such Beneficence, unless their Fortunes, and good Dispositions had happily concurred together. But the State of Affairs, it seems, at that important Juncture, required the Counsels, not of such as were merely rich, or well-affect-
ed,

ed, but of some Person of Knowledge and Experience, who observed the whole Progress of Events, and by tracing them to their Springs, could clear up the Reasons of *Philip's* Motions, and penetrate into his Designs. For, he, who by a long and close Observation, had not made himself fully Master of these Things, though he had been in the Number of the Richest, and most Publick-spirited Citizens, would have been never the better qualified, on that Score, to discover what was most expedient to be done, or to suggest to you the properest Counsels for such a dangerous Juncture.

§4. In this Crisis, I was the Person that appeared before you; and ascending the Rostrum, spoke to you in the Manner, which I am now ready to repeat, if you will favour me with a patient Hearing; which for two Reasons, I make it my Request, that you will grant me. The one is, That you may see, I was the only one of all your Orators and Publick Ministers, who deserted not the Post to which my Zeal for the Commonwealth had raised me, in the Day of her Distress; and was found to have given the wholesomest Advice, and preferred Decrees the best adapted, to extricate you out of the Difficulties and Dangers in which you were plunged. The other is, That by bestowing a very small Portion of Time in the Hearing of what then passed, you will be the better enabled to go into all the remaining Parts of my Administration. I therefore addressed my self to you in this Manner. They who are possessed with the dreadful Apprehension, that the whole Body of the *Thebans* are heartily in the Interest of *Philip*, seem to me entirely ignorant of the present State of Affairs. For, were that indeed the Case, I am well assured, that instead of hearing of his being at *Elatea*, we should have found him upon our own Frontiers. For, I am confident, he only comes in order to put his Designs,

long

long since concerted against the *Thebans*, in Execution. To convince you, continued I, that I am right in this Conjecture, I beg your Attention till I make it plain and evident to you. As many indeed of the *Thebans* as he could either corrupt, or seduce into his Interest, those he has absolutely at his Devotion. But for such, as either formerly opposed, or just now make Head against him, them he can by no Means win over to his Party. What End then does he propose; and why has he seized upon *Elatea*? No other than this, that, by thus displaying his Power, and letting the *Thebans* have a near View of his Army, he may on the one Hand, inspire Courage into his own Faction amongst them, and on the other, cast a Damp on the Minds of his Enemies; and by that Means either force, or frighten them into the Terms which they had refused. If therefore, added I, we are determined, at this unseasonable Conjunction, to keep up our old Resentments against the *Thebans*, and put no manner of Confidence in them, but treat them as our Enemies; we shall hereby, in the first Place, gratify *Philip's* own Expectations and Wishes; and in the next, I am much afraid, provoke those that now oppose him, to embrace his Alliance, and to enter so heartily into it, as to join with him even in the Invasion of *Attica*, with their united Forces. But if you will confide in my Counsels, and deliberate, without cavilling, upon what I shall propose; I doubt not, both to give the most wholesome Advice, and to deliver my Country from the impending Danger. What then is it I advise?—*First*, To shake off the present Fear which has arrested us, and deriving it from another Source, be apprehensive only on Account of the *Thebans*. For, they are nearest to Danger, and must first feel the Fury of the gathering Storm. In the next Place, It is my Opinion, that as many of you as are able to bear Arms, immediately

ly rendezvous at (a) *Eleufis*, with the Cavalry, to the End, that all the States of *Greece* may perceive you ready armed to enter upon Action, and that your Friends in *Thebes* may have the same Freedom of Debate in consulting about the common Safety, that their Adversaries enjoy. For, it will, doubtless, animate them to exert this Freedom, when they shall see, that as those Traytors who sold their Country to *Philip*, have an armed Force at the Gates ready to assist them ; so you are at hand to support those that are resolved to assert their Liberty, in case any Attack should be made upon them. In the last Place, I advise you to elect Ten Embassadors, who, in conjunction with the Generals, shall have full Power to regulate the Time, and all other necessary Circumstances, relating to the March of your Troops. But when these Embassadors are arrived at *Thebes*, how is this Matter to be negotiated ? I beseech you to hear me with Attention on this Head. Make no Demands at all upon the *Thebans* ; for, at this Juncture, that would be highly dishonourable : But promise them Assistance, if they desire it ; seeing we look upon them to be in the utmost Danger, and have been so fortunate ourselves, as to foresee and provide against it. By this Means, if they embrace our Offers, and close with our Advice, we shall not only attain to the End we propose, but shall do it with a good Grace, and bring a new Accession of Honours to our Country. But, on the contrary, if this Affair should happen to miscarry, they will have none but themselves to blame for whatever Mischiefs may happen to come upon them ; while we shall enjoy the Satisfaction of knowing, that no one can upbraid us with any Thing mean or inglorious.

(a) *Eleufis*] A Sea-Town of *gariſ*. *Pauſ.* in *Attic. Attica*, on the Confines of *Me-*

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55. After having spoke this, and much more to the same Purpose, I came down from the *Rostrum*, every one approving of what I had said, without so much as one contradicting Voice. Nor did I speak this without formally proposing it in Writing; nor did I propose it in Writing without going Ambassador upon it; nor did I go Ambassador, without succeeding in my Negotiation, and bringing the *Thebans* into our Measures. I began this Affair, I carried it on, and I compleated it; devoting my self entirely to your Service, amidst all the Dangers that threaten'd the Commonwealth from every Quarter. Produce now the Decree which was pass'd upon this Occasion. But first, *Æschines*, tell me what I ought to think of you, and what I ought to think of my self at the time of that important Transaction? Ought I to look upon my self as an effeminate (a) *Batalus*, as you have thought fit to term me in Ridicule and Derision; and esteem you a Hero, not of the Common Level either, but one of those that are taught

(a) As an effeminate *Batalus*, &c.] *Libanius* says, that *Batalus* was an effeminate Flute-Maker, that first wore Women's Shoes upon the Stage. Hence *Hesychius*, Βάτταλος κατὰ πύγων, καὶ ἀνδρόγυνος, κιναιδὸς ἑκαυτός. Which Account is also given by *Cæl. Rhod.* *Demosthenes* in his Youth, as *Plutarch* (in *Vita Dem.*) tells us, was called in respect of his bodily Infirmities, by the reproachful Nick-name of *Batalus*; on which Subject *Antiphanes* made a Play in Derision of him. Others, says the same Author, make mention of *Batalus*, as a Poet, who wrote wanton Songs, and Lampoons; and it should seem, that a certain part of the Body, not fit to be named, was

about that Time called *Batalus* by the *Athenians*. When he advanced in Years he was called *Αργύς*, *Suid.* *Αργύς* is a kind of Serpent of a very venomous Nature. To this Word, I think, *Æschines* alludes, when after his Banishment, declaiming one Day at *Rhodes*, a Person who had been transported with what he said, asked him, "How it was possible, that so much Eloquence should be vanquish'd by *Demosthenes*?" He answered, "You need not be at all surprized, had you been by, when that *Beast* shed his Venom. *Ἰησιὸν καλῶν Δεμοδένην.* *Phot.* Though this Story is with some Alteration related by the younger *Pliny*. *Lib. 2. Epist. 3.*

to bluster in Buskins, a *Cresphon*, a *Creon*, or rather an *Oenomaus*, whose Character you formerly murder'd by your wretched Performance on the Stage at *Colyttus*? It seems therefore, that I, the effeminate *Pæanean Batalus*, did more Honour and Service to my Country at that critical Conjunction, than you, the formidable *Cothocidean Hero*, *Oenomaus*. For in reality, you have never afforded any Assistance to the Commonwealth; whereas I have always, and upon all Occasions, done every Thing in my Power to approve myself a good and faithful Citizen. Read the Decree.

Demosthenes's Decree.

IN the Archonship of *Nausicles*, the Tribe of *Ajax* exercising the Prytannick Power, upon the sixteenth Day of the Month *Scirophorion*, *Demosthenes*, the Son of *Demosthenes* the *Pæanean*, spoke thus.

Whereas Philip, King of Macedonians, has, in Times past, committed several notorious Infractions of the Peace concluded betwixt him, and the People of Athens; in direct Violation of his Oaths, and of every Thing that is held sacred and inviolable among the Greeks, by seizing upon several Towns to which he had no Manner of Right; and by storming and making himself Master of various Cities which belonged to the Athenians, without having received any previous Provocation or Injury from them; and Whereas, he at present grows more and more cruel and outrageous, every Day producing fresh Instances of his immoderate Ambition; insomuch, that into some of the Græcian Cities he puts Garrisons, and destroys the Frame of their respective Governments, others he utterly demolishes, and treats the Inhabitants as Vassals and Slaves; and in others, he fixes Barbarians instead of Greeks, and suffers them to deface and destroy the very Temples and Sepulchres

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Sepulchres with Impunity: In this indeed acting in no Sort inconsistently either with his own natural Disposition, or the Barbarity of his Country; and is moreover, at this Juncture, grown so insolent and haughty upon his great Success, that he forgets, how from an obscure, inconsiderable Person, he is unexpectedly become great and powerful; and Whereas, while the People of Athens saw him making a Conquest of (a) Barbarian Cities only, and such as were governed by their own particular Laws, they neither thought themselves injured, nor were offended at him. But, when they now behold some of the Græcian Cities most injuriously treated, and others entirely razed to the Ground, they cannot forbear thinking it monstrous in themselves, and unworthy the Glory of their great Forefathers, to suffer the Greeks to be thus lorded over, oppressed, and enslaved, while they themselves remain idle and unconcerned Spectators. For these Reasons it is Resolved by the Senate and People of Athens, after offering up their solemn Prayers and Sacrifices to the Gods and (b) Heroes, Protectors of the City and Territories of the Commonwealth; and being moreover animated and fired by calling to Mind the Bravery and Valour of their Forefathers, (Men, who regarded the Preservation of the common Liberties of Greece, more than the Defence of their own native Country); It is resolved, I say, by the Senate and People of Athens, immediately to set out a Fleet of two Hundred Sail; to send the Admiral to cruize within the Pylæ; to order both

(a) *Barbarian Cities, which were governed by their own particular Laws*] In the Original it is, πῶλες βαρβάρους, καὶ ἰδιῶς. The Oxford Editors interpret this Passage thus, *quamdiū barbaras, et quasi proprias urbes eum capere videbat, &c.* But here they must have been mistaken: For how can Philip be said, consistently with good Sense, to have made himself Master of those Towns,

which were his own before? I have therefore chose to render this Passage differently from them.

(b) *The Heroes, Protectors, &c.*] These Heroes were Ten, exclusive of Theseus; namely, Cecrops, Erechtheus, Pandion, Egeus, Acamas, Leontes, Hippothoon, Antiochus, Ajax, and Oeneus, who were called Ἐπώνυμοι, because the Ten Tribes of the Athenians were named after them.

the Generals of the Infantry and Cavalry to march their respective Troops to Eleusis; to dispatch Embassadors to all the States of Greece, but first of all, to the Thebans, in regard, Philip is actually upon their Frontiers, to exhort them not to be terrified at his Invasion; but to exert themselves in Defence of their own, and the common Liberty of Greece; and to inform them, that the Athenians are so far from calling to Mind any Injury that might in former Times have exasperated the two States against each other, that they will assist them with Men, Money, Arms, and Ammunition; being sensible, that 'tis glorious for Greeks, to contend among themselves for Dominion; but to submit to a foreign Yoke, and be stripped of Empire, is unbecoming the Glory of free-born Græcians, as well as the Virtue and Bravery of their Progenitors. And moreover, to let them know, that the People of Athens do not look upon the Thebans as Aliens and Strangers, but as Relations and Countrymen. That the good Offices which their own Ancestors did for those of the Thebans are fresh in their Memories; namely, how they restored the (a) Descendants of Hercules, who had been expelled by the Peloponnesians, to the Principalities of their Forefathers, and put all to the Sword who attempted to oppose or make Head against them; how we hospitably entertained OEdipus, together with the Followers of his Fortune; and that we have many other illustrious Monuments of our Humanity and kind Offices done the Thebans to boast of. Nor will the People of Athens at this Juncture abandon the Interest of Thebes, and of the rest of Greece; but are willing to make a League, and enter into an Alliance with them; to establish a mutual Liberty of Intermarriage betwixt both States; and to exchange the Ratifications

(d) *The Descendants of Hercules.] The Athenians alone received the Heraclidæ after they had been rejected by all the Græcians, to whom they applied themselves for Protection, when they fled from the Oppression of*

the Mycenians, and joining with them, punished the Insolence of Eurystheus, and defeated the Forces of those who were then in Possession of Peloponnesus. Herod. in Calliope.

of these Articles in the most solemn Manner. The Embassadors, Demosthenes, the Son of Demosthenes the Pæanean. Hyperides the Son of Cleander, the Sphertian. Mnesithides, the Son of Antiphanes the Phrearian. Democritus, the Son of Sophilus the Phlyasian, and Calæschrus, the Son of Diotimus the Cothocidean.

56. This was the Introduction to, nay, this was the very Foundation of our Alliance with the *Thebans*. For, till that Time these Incendiaries had been but two successful in fomenting perpetual Enmity, Hatred, and Distrust between the two States. But by this Decree, the Danger which at that Time hung over *Athens*, was scattered and driven away, like a Cloud before the Wind. And indeed, at that Juncture it was, that a truly zealous Citizen should have exerted himself, in publicly proposing whatever better Advice he had to offer, instead of setting himself up at this Time of Day for an Accuser of what was then transacted. For, a Giver of Advice, and a Forger of Calumnies, are not more different in any Respect than in this, that the one gives his Opinion before the Event, and thereby makes himself, in some Sort, accountable to his Auditors, and to every Inquirer, for all the Caprices of Fortune, and Contingencies of Affairs; while the other, by his Silence, when he should have spoke, reserves himself for Occasions of upbraiding, if any cross Accidents should fall out afterwards. It was then, as I have already said, that every wise and well-affected Citizen ought to have shewn himself such, by his wholesome and seasonable Counsels. But I will venture to say, that if any one, even now, can point out any better, or indeed, any other Measures than what I then advised, I am ready to take Guilt upon me. If any one at this Time can recollect any Expedient, which, if it had been then fallen upon, would have produced any good Effect, I will own, I ought not to have been ignorant of it.

But if there neither is, nor ever was any such Expedient pointed out by the Wit of any Man now living, I must ask, What ought any Counsellour to have done, which was not done by me? Ought he not from all the Expedients that occurred to him, and appeared practicable, to fix upon, and pursue those that seemed to carry the greatest Probability of succeeding? And this, *Æschines*, was exactly what I did, when the Crier proclaimed, "*Who will give his Advice*; not, "*Who will censure what is past*; nor, "*Who will engage for what is to come*? But at that Time, when you were pleased to preserve a profound Silence in the Assembly; then it was, that I stood forth, and assisted my Country with my Counsels. However, since you forbore to do it then, shew us now, at least, what Expedient ought I to have fallen upon? What favourable Occasion did I let slip? What Alliance, or other Measures ought I to have advised, preferable to those I then proposed to the People I was addressing?

57. But, in Reality, past Transactions never command any Body's Attention, nor are they ever made the Subject of Men's Deliberations. 'Tis the Future, and the Present, about which a wise Counsellour is concerned to employ his Diligence and Care. At that Juncture therefore, our Affairs were in such a Situation, as gave us just Apprehensions of approaching Misfortunes, besides the Evils which we actually felt. Review then, *Æschines*, my Conduct, and my Advices, as you please; but let me not be accused for the Event. For the Disposition of all Affairs is according to the Pleasure of the immortal Powers; but the Intentions of Men who give Advice, are only to be gathered from the natural Tendency of their Counsels. Though then, *Philip* happened to obtain the Victory,
let

let not me be blamed for it; for the Success of that Day's Battle depended upon the Gods, and not upon me. But shew me, that I did not take all the Measures that human Prudence could devise, and pursue them with the utmost Diligence and Fidelity, and an Activity even beyond what my Strength was well able to undergo; or that I inspired not my Fellow-Citizens with noble and honourable Resolutions, such as were worthy of *Athenians*, and absolutely necessary for their Safety: Shew this, I say, and then take your full Swing in Reproaches against me. But, if a Misfortune came upon you, O *Athenians*, which, like a Clap of Thunder, or a sudden Tempest, bore down not only this State, but all the rest of *Greece*, how could I have prevented it? Indeed my Case is much what the same with the Owner of a Vessel, who, having rigg'd her out completely, and provided her with all Things judg'd necessary for her Safety; yet upon her afterwards encountering a violent Storm, by which she happens to be disabled in her Tackling and other Furniture, is accused of having caused the Shipwreck. But I did not steer the Vessel, might he say; neither did I conduct your Army; nor could I command Fortune, who commands all Things her self. Weigh then only this single Circumstance, *Æschines*, and suffer yourself to receive Conviction. If it was our hard Fate to be vanquished, though fighting in Conjunction with the *Thebans*, what must we have expected, had they either not taken part with us, or joined with *Philip* against us, as he had so often, and so earnestly solicited them? And if a Battle fought three Days Journey out of *Attica* was capable of striking such a Terror and Consternation into the City, to what must it have reduced us, had the Defeat happened within our own Territories? Should we have been able, do you think, to have stood the Shock, to have assembled together, or even to have lived? surely, the Respite of a Day, or two, in so critical a Juncture, was of the last Importance to our Safety.

Not

Not to mention all the other Calamities which we escaped, by the Interposition of the Gods, Protectors of *Athens*, and of that seasonable Alliance, which you, *Æschines*, are pleased so much to censure and decry.

§8. I have been thus full in the recital of these Transactions purely on your Account, O *Athenians*, who are my Judges, and on that of my Auditors who stand without the Bar. For, to silence this Miscreant, a very short and succinct Answer would have been sufficient. In a Word, *Æschines*, if you were the only happy Person, that truly foresaw what was to come, when this State was deliberating about the means of its Preservation, you ought to have then foretold it. But, if you did not foresee it, then are you equally chargeable with want of Foresight, as any others. Why therefore do you accuse me on this Head, rather than I you? For, without entering upon other Matters at present, I so far shewed my self a better Citizen than you at that Juncture, in that I vigorously applied my self to the Execution of those Measures, that were judged by every Body most proper for us, as our Affairs were then situated; and that, without fearing, or refusing to undergo any personal danger. On the contrary, you neither proposed any Counsels better than mine, [for if you had, these would not have been pursued], nor did you contribute in the least to the Prosecution of these, but after having exceeded the most profligate and disaffected of our Citizens in Treachery to the *Common-Wealth*, presume to upbraid Men for their want of Success. And thus while *Aristratus* in (1) *Naxus*, and *Aristolaus* in (2) *Thassus*, both inveterate Enemies to our State, are prosecuting the Friends of the *Athenians* there, *Æschines*, at *Athens*, is

(1) *Naxus*.] An Island, one | the Coast of *Thrace*, half a Days
of the *Cyclades*, in the *Ægean* | Sail from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd.*
Sea. *Strab.* L. 10. | L. 4.

(2) *Thassus*.] An Island upon |

impeaching *Demosthenes*. But certainly the Man, who takes a Handle from the Calamities of *Greece* to gain a Reputation to himself, is much more deserving of death, than to be in a capacity of arraigning others. And whoever he be, that derives Advantage to himself from the same Conjunctions that are found favourable to the Enemies of the State, cannot possibly have a true and honest Affection for his Country. Of this, *Æschines*, you have given illustrious Proofs, by the whole Tenor of your Life and Actions, and in all publick Affairs, which you have either undertaken, or declined. Is any Thing undertaken, O *Athenians*, which has been attended with the desired Success? Then *Æschines* is dumb. But have you been disconcerted in your Measures, by any cross Accidents, or unforeseen Misfortunes? Presently *Æschines* appears all in a Rage; just as Erruptions and Sores in the Body look most angry, and Cramps and Convulsions distort most, when the Constitution is any way out of order.

59. And now, since he lays so great a Stress on the Event of our Proceedings, I will venture to advance a kind of Paradox on this Subject; but I entreat you by *Jupiter* and all the Gods, instead of being surprized at the seeming Extravagance of what I am going to deliver, to put a candid and favourable Construction upon it. Supposing then, the whole People of *Athens* had most fully and clearly foreseen all the Events that were to come to pass, and that you, *Æschines*, had forewarned us of them, and instead of preserving so profound a Silence, had with your usual Noise and Clamour, called both Gods and Men to witness, *that they would exactly happen according to your Predictions*: Yet even in this Case, the *Common-Wealth* could not have departed from the Measures *that were at that Time resolved on*, consistently with the Honour of the present Times, the Glory of our Ancestors, or the good Opinion of future Ages. All that can be said of us at
pre-

present, is, that we have been disappointed of our Hopes, which the Will of the Gods has made the Common Lot of all Mankind. But a Commonwealth, which had thought her self worthy of being at the Head of all the States of *Greece*, could not afterwards have resigned her Pretensions to *that Superiority*, without incurring the just Censure of having betrayed them all into the Hands of *Philip*. For, had we tamely surrendered those Prerogatives, which, by so many glorious Toils and Dangers, our Fore-fathers had purchased for us, would not even you, *Æschines*, (not to say the Republick, or my self,) have been exposed to the just Contempt of the whole World? With what Face, good Gods! should we have been able to look upon all those *Strangers* that have thronged into *Athens* on this Occasion, had Affairs been brought to this desperate Condition, in which we now behold them, and *Philip* had been chosen Captain-General, and obtained the Sovereignty of *Greece* through our supine Negligence alone, while all the other States were making their utmost Efforts to prevent it? And this too, in a Commonwealth, that had never in any former Age, preferred dishonourable Safety to glorious Dangers? For, where is the *Greek*, or where the *Barbarian*, that can be ignorant, how the *Thebans*, and before them the *Lacedæmonians*, when in the Height of their Power, and even the great King of *Persia* himself, would not only have joyfully granted the *Athenians* the inglorious Possession of their own Territories in Peace, but whatever else they could have demanded, on Condition of receiving the Law from their Hands, and yielding up to them the Sovereignty of *Greece*? But these were Terms, not to be submitted to by *Athenians*, and utterly inconsistent, both with the generous Principles derived down to them from their Ancestors, and their own innate Love of Virtue. Nor could any one, from the Beginning of Time, ever perswade the Members of this Republick, to purchase a dishonourable Security,

rity, by quietly submitting to the most formidable Powers, if Tyrannical and Illegal. On the Contrary, we have, from Age to Age, maintained a noble and hazardous Struggle for the Sovereignty, the Glory, and the Reputation of the Commonwealth. A Conduct, which you have always judged so honourable in itself, and so agreeable to the Maxims observed by this Republick, that you have constantly distinguished, with the highest Encomiums, such of our great Forefathers, as have been most eminent for the Pursuit of it. And herein you have done nothing, but what is most just and reasonable. For, who can forbear being astonish'd at the Bravery of those *ancient* Heroes, who, rather than submit to a foreign Tyranny, were content to forsake their native Country, and their City, and betake themselves to their Ships; choosing *Themistocles* for their General, who had advised them to this gallant Resolution, (a) and stoning *Cyrtilus* to death, who would have perswaded them to receive the Yoke of the Conquerors; their Wives also, *with no less Bravery*, inflicting the same kind of Punishment on the Wife of that Traitor?

(a) *And stoning Cyrtilus.*] *Herodotus* (in *Calliope*) relates the Story thus. *Mardonius* the Persian General left by *Xerxes* in Greece, having ravaged *Attica*, and possessed himself of *Athens*, dispatched *Murichides* a *Hellepontine* to *Salamis*, whither the *Athenians* had retired, to make them some advantageous Offers, and enter into an Alliance with them. Accordingly *Murichides* arriving at *Salamis*, went into the Council, and when he had spoken as he was instructed by *Mardonius*; *Lycidas*, (not *Cyrtilus*,) one of the Senators delivered for his Opinion, that the best Resolution they could take, would be, to re-

ceive the Propositions brought by *Murichides*, and refer them to the People. This he said, either because he was corrupted by *Mardonius* with Money, or because he was really of that Opinion. But the *Athenians*, who were in the Council, and those without, being soon informed of what he had said, they all resented the Thing with the highest Indignation; and immediately gathering about *Lycidas*, stoned him to Death, dismissing *Murichides* the *Hellepontine* without hurt. The *Athenian* Women observing the Tumult that happened at *Salamis* on this Occasion, and en-

quir-

tor? For, the *Athenians* of those Times, did not seek out for an Orator or a General, who could procure them a happy Slavery, but without Liberty, despised and scorned even Life it self. Every one amongst them was of Opinion, that he was not born for his own Father and Mother only, but, for his Country. And wherein consists the Difference *betwixt the People of the one, and the other Sentiment*? In this only—The Man who thinks himself born solely for his own Parents, awaits the Death that is allotted him, whether it be by an untimely Fate, or in the due Course of Nature; while he, who believes himself born for his Country, would choose rather to die himself, than see her enslaved; and regards, as much more terrible than Death it self, the Outrages and Indignities, which he must necessarily bear in a State bereaved of its Liberty, and groaning under Oppression.

60. I should therefore most justly incur the Censure of Arrogance, if I in the least insinuated, that my Persuasion inspired you with Sentiments worthy of your Fore-fathers. No; I give you the Glory of your own Resolutions, by shewing you that the Commonwealth had always been animated with the same Spirit, long before my Time. It is Praise enough for me to have done the Duty of my Station when employed in the Affairs of the Publick, and this is what I may, without vanity, assume to my self. But this Wretch, while he condemns every thing I have done without Distinction, and endeavours to stir up your Resentments against me, as Author of all the Dangers and Difficulties in which you have been involved, not only strikes at the Honour you have just now conferred upon me,

quiring into the Cause, were no sooner informed of the Fact, than taking one another by the Hands, with mutual Exhortati-
 ons, they went without other inducement to the House of *Lycidas*, and stoned his Wife with his Children.

but

but attempts to deprive your selves of the Praises of all future Generations. For, from the Instant you condemn *Ctesiphon*, on account of the Errors of my Administration, it will appear, that your Distresses have not been owing to the Iniquity of Fortune, but purely to your own Mismanagement. (a) But you have not, O *Athenians*, you have not incurred any Blame, in hazarding your Lives for the Common Safety and Liberty of *Greece*. No, no, you have not, I solemnly swear it, by the *Manes* of those our brave Fore-fathers, who encountered the Dangers of the Plains of (1) *Marathon*; by Those, that bore the Brunt

(a) But you have not incurred any Blame, &c.] This Passage has been highly esteemed and admired by the Ancients. Here, says *Longinus*, the Orator, all of a sudden, as if he were inspired with the God, and possessed with the Spirit of *Apollo*, flies out in the Name of those valiant Defenders of their Country, and says, ' You have not, O *Athenians*, you have not incurred any Blame in hazarding your Lives for the common Safety and Liberty of *Greece*: No, no, you have not, I solemnly swear it by the *Manes* of those our brave Fore-fathers, who encountered the Dangers of the Plains of *Marathon*. By this single Form of an Oath, which I here term an Apostrophe, he deifies the ancient Citizens he is speaking of, and shews, in Effect, that all those who die in that manner, ought to be regarded as Gods, by whose Names Men ought to swear; he inspires his Judges with the Spirit and Sentiments

of those illustrious Dead; and by changing the natural Air of Proof into this great and Pathetic manner of Affirmation by Oaths, so new, so worthy, and surprizing, he insufes into their Minds a kind of Antidote and Counter-Poison to all Impressions: He raises their Courage by Encomiums: In a Word, he convinces them, that they ought to entertain no less Opinion of the Battle they lost against *Philip*, than of the Victories they won at *Marathon* and *Salamis*; and thus by so many different Methods, all comprized in one Figure, draws them over to his Side. chap. 14.

(1) *Marathon*.] A Town in *Attica*, over against *Eretria* in *Eubæa*. *Herod. L. 6.* equally distant from *Athens*, and from *Carystus* in *Eubæa*. *Paus. in Atticis*. It was renowned for the Overthrow of 600000 *Persians* under *Darius*, by the *Athenian* General *Miltiades*.

in

in the Battle of (2) *Platea*; by Those, that joined in the Sea-fight, either at (3) *Salamis*, or (4) *Artemisium*; and by a Multitude of others, whose Remains are consecrated to eternal Memory in the publick Monuments. Brave, and virtuous Men, whom the Republick, *Æschines*, distinguished all with equal Honours, and caused them all to be interred at the publick Expence, without confining that glorious Distinction to those who had the Happiness to come off successful and victorious. And in this the Commonwealth acted upon the Principles of the most strict and impartial Justice. For, those Men had every one of them done the Duty of the Brave; and for the Success, it was such, as Providence thought good to proportion amongst them. But you, O thou execrable Wretch, thou vile Scrib-ler! in order to deprive me of the Honour which has been decreed me, and of the Good-will of my Fellow-Citizens, have endeavoured to amuse the Audience with a pompous Enumeration of Trophies, and Battles, and Exploits of former Ages; not one of which, had the least Relation to the present Contest. Say

(2) *Platea*.] A City of *Bœotia*, 70 Furlongs from *Thebes* *Paus.* in *Bœoti*. It stands between Mount *Cithæron* and *Thebes*, near the Confines of *Attica* and *Megaris*. *Strab.* L. 9. It became famous by that Battle, wherein *Pausanias* the Spartan, and *Aristides* the *At'enian*, defeated *Mardonius* the General of *Xerxes*, according to *Sigonius*, in the second Year of the seventy fifth *Olympiad*; and cut to Pieces three hundred thousand *Persians*, except about forty three thousand that fled away with *Artobaxus*. *Herod.* in *Calliope*.

(3) *Salamis*.] An Island adjacent to *Eleusis* in *Attica*. *Strab.* L. 8. It lies North of *Ægina*: And had a large Haven, near which the *Persian* Fleet under *Xerxes* was defeated by the *Graecians*.

(4) *Artemisium*.] A Temple of *Diana* by the Sea-side, in *Eubœa*, at the Streights of it, not far from *Thermopylæ*. *Herod.* L. 7. Famous for a Battle by Sea, fought near it between the *Græcian* and *Persian* Fleets.

Then

Then, thou Buffoon, say, with what Spirit ought I to have ascended the Rostrum, when called upon to advise the Commonwealth on the important Point of the Sovereignty of *Greece*? ought it to have been such as would have suggested to the *Athenians*, Resolutions unworthy of themselves? In that Case, my Death would have been a just, though slender Expiation of my Offence. Besides, O *Athenians*, the Principles that influence your Judgment in private Cases, ought by no means to be a Rule to you in your publick Deliberations. For, as in the ordinary Business of Contracts between Man and Man, you regulate your Proceedings by the private Laws, and Decisions of particular Cases; so when you are sitting in Council upon the arduous Affairs of the Commonwealth, you are always to have your Eyes upon the glorious Behaviour of your Ancestors, in the like Circumstances; and as often as you are assembled to debate concerning the publick Business, every one of you, who would not degenerate from the great Example of your Forefathers, must imagine that, together with (a) the Sceptre

(b) *With the Sceptre and Symbol.*] ἅμα τῇ Βακτηρίᾳ κ. τῷ Σύμβολῳ The Scholiast says, that Σύμβολον was a certain Ensign that the Judges had upon their Heads. A very learned Man explains this Passage by altering the Text, reading it thus, Σύμβολον τῇ Βακτηρίᾳ. i. e. *The Rod which is the Symbol of Power.* That these two Words mean the same Thing, he thinks, is made plain, from the Scholiast upon the Plutus of *Aristoph.* *Kuster in voc.* Βακτηρία *apud Suid.* I should think, however, that *Wolfius* rightly ren-

ders Σύμβολον by *Tessera*. By a Law of *Solon's*, the judicial Power was in a great measure lodged in the People, and the meanest Citizen of *Athens* was qualified to be a Judge. Beside the *Areopagus*, there were ten Courts of Justice, all painted with different Colours, and each marked with one of the first Letters of the Alphabet. Thus one was called, the purple Court, *A.* and so on. To each of these Courts, there belonged a Rod or Sceptre, painted with the Colour of the Court. When any Person was chosen

Sceptre and *Symbol* of the judicial Authority, he carries with him into the Assembly, the Genius and Spirit of *Athens*.

61. But the Mention of the great Actions of your Forefathers having so transported me, as to make me omit several very material Decrees and Transactions, I now return to the Subject from whence I have been led away by this Digression. As soon therefore as we arrived at *Thebes*, we there met the Embassadors of *Philip*, of the *Theſſalians*, and the other confederated States; but found our own Friends there entirely dispirited, while those of *Philip* discovered an Air of the utmost Confidence and Satisfaction. For a Proof that I have not advanced any thing in order to serve my self, but the naked Truth, in this Article of my Defence, I desire the Letters may be read, which, as Embassadors, we dispatched hither with all possible speed, upon that Occasion. Nevertheless, this my Accuser is so outrageous a Calumniator, that upon any good Success, he ascribes it all to some favourable Conjunction, rather than to my Cares and Diligence; but, when any Disaster happens, he always throws it upon me, and the unhappy Destiny that attends me. So that, according to him, I, who was only employed in the Affairs of Counsel and Negotiation, had not the least Part in those Transactions that were managed solely in that Way of Counsel and Negotiation: While at the same time all the Misfortunes attending our Arms, and the Errors of the Commanders, are to

chosen a Judge, the *Theſmocheta* gave him a *Tablet*, or *Ticket*, subscribed with the Letter of the Court he was to sit in, and a Sceptre of the Colour of the same Court. This was his Temporary Patent. His Fee one *Obolus*, or as others say, *Three*, the *Tablet* or *Thicket* was the *Symbol* which *Wolſus* translates, *Tessera*.

be charged to my Account. Can any Sycophant in the World be conceived at once so barbarous, and so abominable?

Read the Letter. *Wanting.*

62. As soon as the *Thebans* were assembled, the Embassadors of *Philip* were immediately admitted to an Audience before all others, as being in the Number of their Allies. Being admitted into the Assembly, they addressed the People in a long Harangue, exalting *Philip* their Master out of all Measure, and inveighing against you with the utmost Bitterness; without forgetting the least Circumstance of any Unkindness you had ever shewn towards the *Thebans*. In Conclusion, they alledged, that both the Deference they owed to *Philip* for his many good Offices, and their just Resentment of the Injuries which you had done them, left them no other Choice, but to revenge them, either by granting him a Passage into your Country through theirs, or by joining their own Forces with his, in the Invasion of *Attica*.

They made it plain likewise to the *Thebans*, as they imagined, that if they listened to their Propositions, the Cattle, the Slaves, and all the other Riches of *Attica* would, by this Means, be drawn into *Bæotia*; whereas, if they closed with our Offers, *Bæotia* would become the Seat of the War, and of all the Ravages and Miseries attending it. To these Discourses they added a great many others, all tending to the same Purpose. It would be to me one of the greatest Pleasures in the World, to give you a distinct Account of our Answers upon this Occasion; did I not apprehend, O *Athenians*, that the Memory of a Conjunction, wherein *Greece* was plunged in such a Sea of Troubles, would be thought not only disagreeable, but impertinent, for me to say any thing that might
revive

revive it. I shall therefore only trouble you with hearing the Overtures we made to them, and their Answer to us upon them. Take, and read the Answer.

The Answer of the Thebans. Wanting.

63. Upon this therefore, the *Thebans* not only sent for, but gave you an Invitation ; and you readily marched out, and lent them your Assistance. *In a Word,* To pass over all that happened in the Interval, they received you with such Demonstrations of Friendship, and Confidence, that while their own Cavalry, and Infantry, were encamped without the Walls, our Army was admitted into their Houses in the City, and lodged amongst their Wives and Children, and all that they reckoned most dear to them. And indeed, upon this memorable Occasion it was, that the *Thebans* proclaimed to all the World the Sentiments they had of you, in Three of the most illustrious Testimonies given to your Virtue ; the First to your Valour ; the Second to your Justice ; and the third to your Moderation. For, by choosing to fight on your Side, rather than against you, they at once plainly declared you superior to *Philip* in Point of Courage ; and your Alliance preferable to his, in Regard of the Justness of your Designs : And by trusting you with what they, and all Mankind, agree to guard with the strictest Care, namely, their Wives and their Children, they expressed what a high Opinion they had conceived of the Purity of your Manners. In all which, O *Athenians*, the Event made appear, how true a Judgment they had formed of you. For, from the Hour your Army entered into *Thebes*, there was not the least Murmur or Complaint heard of any Injustice committed by you ; so entirely had you banished the least Appearance of Licentiousness from amongst you. And afterwards, in the two first Engagements in which
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you happened to join with them, the one, near the River, the other, in the Winter Season, you behaved your selves not only unexceptionably, but to the Admiration of all, in every thing that regarded either the Disposition, the Equipage, or the Spirit of your Troops. Upon Account of which, you had a just Tribute of Praise from all your Allies; and you your selves thought fit to return the Gods Thanks, by numerous Sacrifices and Publick Shews. So that I would fain ask *Æschines*, whether at the Time, when *Athens* was thus loaded with Honours, and Encomiums, and overwhelmed with Joy and Satisfaction, he joined with his Fellow-Citizens in their Sacrifices and Thanksgivings; or else sullenly shut himself up at home, out of Chagrin, and Discontent, at the Prosperity of his Country? For, if he was present, and joined in the Solemnities, is it not profane and impious in him to plead, that you should now condemn those Proceedings, as pernicious, which he had formerly acknowledged, in the Presence of the Immortal Gods, to be so beneficial; and to demand this Determination too of you, who to the same Immortal Gods have made the like solemn Declaration? But, if he did not assist at those Solemnities, does he not deserve a thousand Deaths, who was capable of receiving Affliction from an Incident, which gave Matter of such great and just Joy to all others? Read also the Decrees passed on this Occasion.

The Decrees concerning the Sacrifices, *Wanting.*

64. Thus were we entirely employed in offering Publick Sacrifices to the Gods; and the *Thebans* were taught to think, that they owed their Deliverance to us. *In Conclusion*, *Affairs took such a Turn*, that you, who by the Artifices of *Æschines* and his Accomplis-

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ces,

ces, were reduced to such a Condition as seemed to demand the Assistance of others, were now enabled, by pursuing my Advices, to lend it to them. But, what Outcries were raised by *Philip* on this Occasion, and in how great a Confusion he was, you will best learn from his own Letters to the *Peloponnesians*. I desire they may be taken and read, to the End, you may see, what were the Effects of my unwearied Application; of those many Journies, and terrible Anxieties I underwent; and of those many Decrees, which this shameless Calumniator has this Day endeavoured to misrepresent. *I will speak it without Vanity, O Athenians*, many great and illustrious Orators have flourished before me in this Commonwealth, such as *Calistratus, Aristophon, Cephalus, Thrasylbulus*, and a thousand others; but never any, who so entirely conducted, and compleated any one Affair, for the Publick Advantage. For, if any one amongst them proposed an Embassy, he was not himself the Person that went upon it; and he that went upon it, never was the Person that proposed it. For, every one of them not only desired to have some Ease and Relaxation from Publick Affairs, but also sought to secure a Retreat elsewhere, in case of any ill Success. What then, will some say, are you that Man so superior to all others both in Courage and Capacity, that you can singly support the whole Burthen of Affairs? No; I do not presume to say so. But this I can say, That the Danger which then threatened the Commonwealth, seemed to me so pressing, as to render me insensible to all Considerations of my own private Interest or Safety. And you ought, *in my Apprehension*, to esteem your selves happy, in that, every thing was done for your Safety, which, on the most accurate Inquiry, could be judged necessary, and without any material Omission. I flattered my self indeed; perhaps too fondly; however, I did flatter my self, that no one had ever proposed better Measures, or performed the Functions

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Functions of an Embassador more chearfully or faithfully, than I had done. Certain it is, I so earnestly devoted my self to the Service of the Commonwealth, as to undertake my self every thing that seemed conducive to that End. Now read *Philip's* Letters.

The Letters. *Wanting.*

To my Counsels, *Æschines*, was it owing, that *Philip* was become thus tractable. It was I, who taught him to speak in a Strain so different from those bold and menacing Expressions, with which he used formerly to fly out against this Commonwealth. These were the Causes, for which the *Athenians* decreed me a Crown; nor did you, though present, oppose my obtaining that Honour; nor could *Diondas*, who became my Accuser on that Occasion, procure so much as a fifth Part of the Suffrages of the People. Read therefore those Decrees, that were then declared to be so agreeable to Justice; Decrees, which were never once called in Question, even by this Calumniator.

The Decrees: *Wanting.*

65. These Decrees, O Men of *Athens*, are exactly composed of the same Words, and Syllables, with that of *Aristonicus* formerly, and of *Ctesiphon* now. And these, *Æschines* neither prosecuted himself, nor so much as assisted the Person who did. And certainly, if his present Accusation of me be true, he ought rather at that Time to have prosecuted *Demomeles*, and *Hyperides*, the Authors of those Decrees, than now to fall upon *Ctesiphon*. And why? Because *Ctesiphon* may justly alledge, that they might have been accused with much more Justice than himself; that he has the Determinations of the Courts in his Favour;

that even his Accuser himself found not the least Fault with former Decrees conceived in the same Terms with that now in Question; and likewise, that the Laws do not allow any Retrospection to be had to Things so long since transacted. All this, and a great deal more of this Nature, he may with Justice alledge. And in that Case, the Matter would have come in Judgment before you, in its own genuine Light, without any of those false Colours, which Envy and Prejudice have at present cast upon it.

66. But, had he taken the Method then, which he now does, he would not, I am sure, have been at Liberty to pick up so many Stories of ancient Times, and Obsolete Decrees, which no one could have foreseen, or imagined this Day to have heard a Word of, in order to support his Accusation. Nor could he, by jumbling together the different Periods of Time, and disguising the real Motives of Actions, give his Assertions that plausible Air they now carry. That could by no Means have been. For, when the Truth was so easie to be known, by your having the Transactions fresh in your Memory, and the very Affairs, in a Manner, in your Hands, Then it was, that he ought vigorously to have prosecuted this Matter. To avoid this therefore it is, that he comes now at last before you, as if he, (in my Apprehension), meant rather to contend for the Prize in Eloquence, than imagined you were Assembled here to enquire into the Publick Administration; and expected you were come hither, rather to criticize on Words, than to determine of the Interests of the Commonwealth.

67. After this, he in a very sophistical Manner asserts, that you ought to divest your selves of all Regard to whatever Opinion concerning either of us, you brought with you from home, into this Assembly. And he reasons in this Manner. 'As in the Matter of Accounts,

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' Accounts, you will never reckon them discharged,
 ' until it appears by an exact casting up of the several
 ' Particulars, that there remains nothing unbalanced;
 ' so neither ought you to acquiesce in any thing
 ' in this Argument, which is not most fully and particularly
 ' demonstrated'. Now, I beseech you to observe, how natural it is, (as indeed it ought to be), for all Arguments to overthrow themselves, which are not founded upon Justice. For, by this same artful Comparison, he makes a plain Acknowledgment, that you are already convinced, that I am pleading the Cause of my Country, and *Æschines* the Cause of *Philip*. For, if he did not know, that such were your Sentiments both of Himself, and me, he would not be so anxious to have you change them. But the Injustice of what he offers in order to induce you to change this Opinion, is such as I shall easily make appear; not indeed by Arithmetical Calculations, (for that is not the Method of accounting for Actions), but by a short Recapitulation of Facts; wherein I shall make use of no other Persons, either to cast up, or to Witness for my Accounts, but you, who are my Auditors. For, to my Administration, however greatly he may traduce it, it is owing, that the *Thebans*, instead of joining with *Philip* in the Invasion of our Territories, as every body expected they would, united with us, to prevent that Invasion. To it we owe, that, instead of a War's being waged in the Bowels of *Attica*, the Theatre of it was removed as far as the Confines of *Bœotia*, to seventy (a) Furlongs distance from the City. To it we owe, that, instead of being plundered and ravaged by Pyrates of what we possessed in *Eubœa*, all *Attica* enjoyed an uninterrupted Peace by Sea, during the whole Course of the War. And in short, to it we owe, that, instead of *Philip's* becoming Master of the *Hellepont* by the Re-

(a) 70 Furlongs.] i. e. 48. measured Miles.

duction of *Byzantium*, the *Byzantines* were enabled to make War upon him, in Conjunction with us. How think you *Æschines*? Is the Detail of my Actions, (a) like the State of a fair Account, where the Balance is on my Side? Ought my Stock of Merits to be reduced to a Par with the Demands of the Commonwealth upon me? Or do you think the Memory of such Actions ought not to be rather carefully handed down to all future Generations? I mention not that Cruelty, which we have seen *Philip* exercise upon all that have ever had the Misfortune to fall under his Power; nor those fair Shews of Humanity, of which you, for your generous Behaviour, justly reaped the Benefit, while he had only artfully put them on, in order to divert you from thwarting his Designs.

68. But to let these Things pass; I will be bold to say, that no Man who designed a just and candid Inquiry into the Conduct of an Orator, and not a downright malicious Prosecution, would have taken those Methods of Accusing, which you, *Æschines*, have now done. He would not invent Similies, nor ridiculously mimic my Words and Gestures. For, of what Importance can you imagine it to be to the (b) Fortunes of *Greece*, whether I make use of this,

(a) *Like the State, &c.*] It is observable, that *Demosthenes* makes use of all the Terms of Accounts in this Paragraph; *τίσις* is always used in the first Article. *ποστίσις* in all the rest. *Luci. in Dial. Merc. & Char. ἀνταλλάξιν*, when the Receipts and Disbursements are equal, and then the *Calculi* are called *καθαρά καὶ ὕποψον*, according to *Aretinus*, and *Perionius*, whom I have followed in my Translation of this Passage of *Demosthenes*, which is in Answer to the Allusion of *Æschines* to an Account. See the Note on *Æschines*. However, it must be owned after all, that the Objection of *Æschines* bears very hard, which is, that *Demosthenes* ought to have accounted for what he had received, before he could pretend to be generous, or boast of what he had given, to the State.

(b) *Fortunes.*] *περὶ γυμνα*. This Word is by *Tully* translated, *The Fortunes*, and not the Affairs of *Greece*.

or the other Expression, or whether I stretch out my Hand hither, or yonder ? On the contrary, he would look into the very Bottom of Affairs ; and enquire what the Riches, what the Forces of the Commonwealth were at the Time I entered upon the Administration ; what further Provision I had made on those Heads, during my being employed ; and would also enquire into the State and Circumstances of our Enemies. And if it had been found, that the Forces of the Commonwealth had been diminished through my Means, then you might have justly impeached me ; and on the other hand, if it had appeared, that I had considerably augmented them ; then, *Æschines*, you should not have loaded me with your Calumnies. But since you have declined that fair and equitable Method of Proceeding, I must insist upon it as my Right ; and be you Judges, O *Athenians*, of the Truth and Equity of what I shall deliver.

69. The whole Forces, then, of the Commonwealth, consisted of the Islanders ; nor all of them either, but the weakest Part of them. For, neither (a) *Chios*, nor (b) *Rhodes*, nor (c) *Corcyra*, declared for us. The Supplies contributed by all the Cities amounted to no more than Forty-five Talents, and proved very (d) deficient when the Money was to be raised. As for Horse, or heavy-armed Foot, we had not any,

(a) *Chios*.] An Island, and City of the Ionians. *Herod. L. 1.*

(b) *Rhodes*.] An Island in the Carpathian Sea, inhabited by *Doreans*, 920 Furlongs in Compass. *Strab. L. 14.*

(c) *Corcyra*.] An Island, over against *Epirus*, *Strab. L. 7.* now called *Corfu*.

(d) And proved very deficient, &c.] There are three different

Readings of the Word in the Text. *περὶ ζεινυμένα*, involved, from *ἐλίσσω* *volvō*. *περὶ ἐλεγμένα*, Exhausted, from *λείχω*, *Lambo* ; and the Oxford Reading, which I prefer to both, *προεξηλεγμένα*, from *ἐλέγχω* *Coarguo*, *falsum esse doceo* ; and this agrees with the *Scholiast*, who renders it *προηπατημένα*, mistaken, which confirms my Translation.

besides

besides our own Domestick Troops. But that which carried the most frightful Aspect to us, and the most favourable to our Enemies, was, that our own Incendiaries had, by their wicked Practices, infused such a Jealousie of us into all our Neighbours, particularly the *Megareans*, the *Thebans*, and the *Eubæans*, that they had a much greater Inclination to come to a Breach, than into an Alliance with us. This was the true Situation of the Affairs of our State at that time; and I desie any one to put them in a more advantageous Light. But now let us see, how Matters stood with *Philip*, with whom we were to encounter. In the first Place, he had an absolute and undisputed Authority over all that marched under his Command, which is an unspeakable Advantage in all Military Enterprizes. Besides, his Troops were constantly under Arms, and compleatly disciplined. His Coffers also were full; and he disposed of his Treasure as he thought proper, without being under the Necessity of revealing his Designs, by getting Decrees passed, or publicly deliberating on what was expedient; and without fear of being accused by Sycophants, charged with illegal Proceedings, or made accountable to any one for the least Part of his Conduct. In short, the whole Property, the supreme Command, and the entire Direction of every Thing centred in his own Person. But then, for me, who was the Person appointed to oppose him, (and indeed this is a Thing that merits to be considered and enquired into), what Power, what Authority, was I Master of? Truly of none at all. For First, The only Power I possessed, that of speaking in your Assembly, was not singly vested in me, but you granted it equally to those very Men, who were corrupted, and kept in Pay by your Enemy. And whatever Advantage these Parricides gained over me, (which often happened through one Pretext or other to be the Case), you constantly suffered them to be carried in your Councils for your Enemies Interests.

terests. Yet, under all these great Disadvantages, I procured for you an Alliance with the *Eubæans*, the *Acbaians*, the *Corinthians*, the *Thebans*, the *Megareans*, the (a) *Leucadians*, and the *Corcyreans* ; by which Means, you received a Reinforcement of fifteen thousand foreign Foot, and two thousand Horse, as Auxiliaries to your own domestick Troops. And as to the necessary Supplies, I prevailed on them to be as liberal as possible, in contributing their respective Proportions.

70. But if you are of Opinion, *Æschines*, that the Quota of the *Thebans*, the *Byzantines*, or *Eubæans*, bore no Proportion with ours, and consequently alledge, that there was Injustice done us by that Inequality ; you shew your self ignorant, in the first Place, of what happened in the last Age, when out of the three hundred Gallies, which were then manned out for the common Defence of *Greece*, our Commonwealth furnished no less than two hundred ; which they were so far from thinking to be an Imposition or Hardship put upon them, or resenting it as a Crime in the Persons who had advised them to it, that they expressed not the least Dissatisfaction at it, (for they judged such a Conduct both base and infamous) ; but, on the contrary, they returned Thanks to the Gods, who had enabled them, in the Time, when all *Greece* was threatened with such imminent Danger, to contribute twice as much for the common Safety, as all the other States of *Greece* together. In the next Place, *Æschines*, by calumniating me in this Manner, you make your Court to the *Athenians* with a mighty ill Grace. For, why do you tell us now what was expedient to have been done then ? Why did you not propose it, if you had any thing to propose, at that critical Juncture,

(a) *Leucadians*.] *Leucas*, a Pe- | Furlongs. *Strab. L. 10.* Now an
insula, distant from *Actium* 240 | Island, called *Santa Maura*.

when present, and employed in the Affairs of the Commonwealth ? At a Juncture, when we were obliged to do, not what was most agreeable to us, but what the Exigence of our Affairs permitted. For, we had at our Gates an Enemy, not only ready to outbid us, but to receive all that we should turn off, both with good Entertainment, and liberal Rewards.

71. But, seeing I am now accused on the Score of what was then done, what do you think would have been the Consequence, if by my too nice examining of, and Exactness about, the several *Quota's*, the other States of *Greece* had been driven into the Interests of *Philip*, and he, by that Means, had at once become Master of *Eubæa*, *Thebes*, and *Byzantium* ? What, think you, would these wicked Men have done or said, in such a Case ? Would they not have said, that they were betrayed ? That our Neighbours, who desired nothing more than to join their Forces with ours, were rejected and affronted ? That, with the Help of the *Byzantines*, *Philip* was become Master of the *Hellespont*, and of all the Avenues through which Corn and Provisions could be brought into *Greece* ? That, by having made our Neighbours the *Thebans* our Enemies, we had brought a calamitous and bloody War into the very Heart of *Attica* ? And that, by Means of the *Eubæan* Pyrates, the Sea was shut up, and all Commerce prohibited ? Would they not have said all this, and a great deal more to this Effect ? Execrable, O *Athenians*, most execrable is it to be a Calumniator, (a) ready at all Times, and in all Places, to com-

(a) Ready at all times, &c.] *Βασκανον*. The Scholiast expounds this by the Word *μεταφροσιν*, one that complains of the Government of Providence itself, whom I have followed. These State-Sycophants, these political Magicians, have in all Ages and Nations, been the Publick Disturbers of the Peace of Mankind. They have been the Sowers of Sedition, which never fails at some time or other, to ripen into the *Seges Clypeata*, the bloody Harvest

complain, even of the Government of Providence it self, and fond of every Pretence of doing so. Such a one is that (a) Diminutive Wretch, that Savage Brute, who never did an honest or a manly Action in the whole Course of his Life ; a mere (b) Tragick Ape, (c) a Stroling Player, and Infamous Orator. For, what Advantage, *Æschines*, did ever your Eloquence bring to your Country ? You come now indeed upon us with your plausible Speeches of what has been, or might have been done ; like some Quack-Physician, who having never either mentioned or prescribed a proper Remedy to remove his Patient's Diseases in their Life-time ; yet when any of them happens to die, comes with great Modesty to his Funeral, and teazes every Body as he goes along, with his grave Assurances, that if the deceased had pursued such and such Methods, he would undoubtedly have recovered. (d) Hardened Fellow that thou art, and Proof against all Conviction, even tho' a Peal of Thunder were the Vehicle of it ; Is this a Time of Day to begin a Discourse of Matters so long past and gone ?

72. As

Harvest of Rebellion. The Apostle complains of these Enchanters, as the Perversers of *Christ's* spiritual Kingdom ; and 'tis observable, that he uses the same Word to the *Galatians*, that *Demosthenes* does to the *Athenians*, *τις ὑμᾶς ἐβόσκαρε*, who has bewitched you, as 'tis justly rendered, for Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft.

(a) *Diminutive.*] This shews *Plutarch's* Mistake, when he says *Æschines* was of a robust Body.

(b) *A mere Tragick Ape.*] *Æschines* is called *Simia*, because in the Complexion of his Face, he resembles an *Athenian*, but strip

him of his splendid Appearance, and you will find the rest of him perfect Ape all over. *Eras.*

(c) *A Stroling Player.*] ἀπειρῆτος Οἰνόμενος. *Euripides* wrote the Tragedy of *Oenomaus*, a Fragment of 26 Lines of which, is in *Barnes's Euripides*. Here *Æschines* is represented as a Stroling Player that acted in the Country Villages about *Athens*.

(d) *Hardened Fellow.*] Εμπερόντης. The *Oxford* Interpreters give a peculiar Construction to this Word, O *Fanatic*. I do not any where find, that the Orators of the Bar ever pretended to Inspiration, or Slurr'd off their

72. As to that unfortunate Defeat at *Chæroneæ*, which you seem so impiously to rejoice in, though the Memory of it ought much rather to affect you with the deepest Sorrow; it will not be found, that any thing I did, contributed in the least to bring it upon our State. For, consider the Matter but in this Light. Whenever I have been sent by you with the Character of Embassador, either to *Theffaly*, to (a) *Ambracia*, to (b) *Illyrium*, to *Thrace*, *Byzantium*, or to any other State, without excepting that of *Thebes* where I was lately employed, I never came off but with better Success in my Negotiations than *Philip's* Ministers. But whatever Points I was able to gain from them by the Power of my Eloquence, the superior Power of *Philip* took back again by violence and force of Arms. And is this, *Æschines*, what you require an account of, from me? Are you not ashamed, at the same Time, that you ridicule me for, and upbraid me with, Cowardice and Effeminacy, to expect that I alone should have broken the whole Power of *Philip*, and that, merely by the Force of my Words? For, what was there else, which I had at my disposal? I could neither inspire the Soldiery with Resolution, nor ensure them of the Victory; nor had I the least Command in that Army, of which you now require me to give an Account. To such an Extravagance do you carry this Prosecution.

their Ribaldry under the Shelter of Enthusiasm; for this is the true Notion of *Fanaticus*. The Poets indeed, often find this an useful Piece of Machinery. *Livy* speaks thus. *Vaticinantes Fanaticæ Carminæ Deam Romanis belli viam et victoriam dare. L. 20. Bell. Maced.* But these hackney Prophets often meet with a just Reward. *Eupolis*, who after a few Dips in *Helicon*, ventured to dip in the Ocean of Politicks

and Intrigue, was, by the command of *Alcibiades*, thrown into the Sea and drowned. *Voss.*

(a) *Ambracia*.] a City in the *Ambracian Bay* upon the River *Arathus*, pretty remote from the Sea. *Strab. L. 7.*

(a) *Illyrium*.] The Country now called *Sclavonia*, having on the North, *Pannonia*, on the West *Istria*, on the East *Macedonia*; and on the South, the *Adriatick Sea*.

73. Far

73. Far be it from me, however, to decline any Inquiry into my Conduct, in the Capacity of an Orator. What then are the Duties incumbent upon one in that Station? Is it his Business to foresee and perceive the Birth of Events in their original Causes, and to foretel the Society of them? All this I have done most truly. Is it to bring Things to a speedy Issue, in spite of all the Delays, Fluctuations, Mistakes; and Debates, which are Evils so unavoidable in all Constitutions of the Republican Form; and on the other Hand, to breath a Spirit of Unity and Concord into the Hearts of the Citizens; and to kindle in them a noble Ardor for the Safety and Welfare of their Country? Neither in this have I been any ways deficient; nor can any Man charge me with the least Omission of my Duty in these Respects. If therefore, any one should demand, by what means *Philip* had such Success in the most part of his Undertakings, every Body will readily answer, that it was by his Arms, and the great Gifts, and Bribes, he distributed amongst those that were then in the Administration. As for me, I was no way concerned, either in the training, or commanding of your Armies; and so, am not, by any Means, accountable for any thing on that Head. No, but it is a plain Case, that I (a) remained superior to *Philip*, in regard all his Bribes were never able to shake my Integrity. For,

(a) That I remained superior to Philip.] The two Rival Lem-
ma's for Empire, are, that of
Philip of *Macedon*, Ἀφύρπας
λαρχαῖσι μάχῃ, καὶ παύσειν ἡσυχίᾳ;
and that of the Poets, Fortior est
qui se &c. The one proposes
to conquer the great World;
the other the Lesser, or a Man's
own self. The Orator here tri-
umphs upon the latter, and rea-

cons himself into a Superiority
over *Philip*, upon the Strength
of it. It is plain, that he who
gets the better of another in that
very Scheme, in which he thinks
himself invincible, is so far
that Man's Superior. Were a
City peopled with such Inha-
bitants, this *Murus Abeneus*,
would in all likelihood prove an
impregnable Fortification.

if

If he who purchases another, is really the Master of him who has thus infamously sold himself, it follows, that he who has the virtue to resist such corrupt and scandalous Offers, is the Vanquisher of him that makes them. So that, in what depended on me, the Commonwealth was altogether invincible.

74. These Reasons, besides a great many others of the like Nature, which I have already offered, concurred in *Ctesiphon's* Proposal of making this Decree in my Favour. But I now return to the mention of those Things, of which none of you can be ignorant. Immediately after the Battle, and in the midst of that Dismay and Confusion, which then seized on the People, it is not to be wondered at, if many of them expressed some Resentment against me; yet having been themselves Witnesses of all I had done, and being truly sensible of the great and dreadful Evils I suffered on their Account, they very readily confirmed all my Propositions for the publick Safety, in that melancholly Conjuncture: Insomuch, that all the Precautions taken by them, either in posting of Guards, or raising of Money for the Reparation of our Walls and Intrenchments, were entirely owing to my Counsels, and directed according to my Decrees. And when the Office of Supervisor of Provisions came to be disposed of, the whole People conferred that important Trust upon me preferably to all others. After which, when those who were my Enemies had formed a Conspiracy, and preferred many Accusations against me, as an infringer of the Laws, a Squanderer of the publick Treasure, and a Betrayer of the Commonwealth; not indeed appearing in it themselves, but employing such of their Agents in that dirty Work, as might give the least Suspicion of their being themselves concerned in it; (for, you all very well know and remember, that, at that Time, scarce a Day passed, without some new Charge or other Being brought against me; and that

I suf-

I suffered all that the Madness of *Soficles*, the Abusiveness of *Philocrates*, and the Rage of *Diondas* and *Melanus*, who left nothing unattempted to do me Mischief, could inflict upon me); when, I say, I was thus furiously attacked on all Sides, and all Engines were employed to compass my Ruin, through the Favour of the immortal Gods, and the Good-will of you, my Judges, and the whole People of *Athens*, I was honourably acquitted. And herein you did me nothing but Justice. For you determined truly according to the Evidence, and as became Judges, who having solemnly sworn to do Justice, had a just Regard to the Sacredness of an Oath. And thus in clearing me from the Charge of betraying the State, and refusing my Accusers the fifth Part of your Suffrages, you fully vindicated my Administration: In quitting me of the Crime of infringing the Laws, you acknowledged my strict Regard to them in all my Advices and Decrees: And in passing my Accounts, you freed me from all Imputations of Corrupt and fraudulent Practices.

75. This being the real Truth of the Matter, what Character could *Ctesiphon* in Justice and Propriety, bestow upon my Actions? Could he give them any other than that which he saw the whole Body of the People had already given? Could he give them any other than that which the Judges, upon their Oath, confirmed; and which Truth it self universally authorized? Ay, but *Æschines* will perhaps say, it was a glorious Thing in *Cephalus*, that he never once had an Accusation preferred against him. Truly, I think, he was singularly fortunate. But will any one conclude from hence, that he, who has had the ill Fortune to be often accused, but never was convicted of any Crime, is to be condemned merely on that account? I will be bold to say, O *Athenians*, that if this Circumstance does honour to *Cephalus*, I have a Right to participate in that Honour, since that virtuous Citizen

tizen never accused me of, nor prosecuted me for, the least Crime; so that, by your own Argument, *Æschines*, you must allow me to be no way inferior to *Cephalus* himself, in the Character of a good Citizen.

76, But the Envy and perverse Temper of this Sycophant, which he has displayed in so many other Instances, appears no where more Conspicuous than in his Reasoning upon Fortune. For my own Part, I must look upon any Man, whoever he be, to be quite out of his Senses, who is capable of upbraiding another with his Misfortunes. For, since he, who imagines himself to enjoy the Smiles and Favour of Fortune in the highest Degree, does not know but he may be forsaken by her before the Evening, what reason has he either to felicitate himself on her Bounty, or Reproach any other with her Diskindness? But seeing that *Æschines* hath discoursed with so much Pride and Arrogance on this Head, as well as on a great many others; I will lay before you my Notions concerning Fortune, and beg of you, O *Athenians*, to be Judges, whether they are not much more agreeable to Reason and Humanity than his. As for this Commonwealth then, I am perswaded, that good Fortune attends it, induced to this Belief by my Reliance on the Oracles of the *Dodonian Jupiter*, and the *Pythian Apollo*. But as to the rest of all Mankind, I apprehend their Fortune at this Time to be very severe and cruel. For, what *Greek*, what *Barbarian* is there at this Day upon Earth, that is not involved in the greatest Difficulties, and labouring under a Weight of Misfortunes? The Glory then of having taken the most just and honourable Measures, and the Satisfaction of finding our selves in a much better Condition, than those very *Greeks*, who imagined they should make themselves happy by forsaking our Interests; This I ascribe to the good Fortune of the Commonwealth. On the contrary, the Misfortune of having miscarried in some of our Enterprizes, and of having been disappointed

pointed, in Part, of our Expectations; This I must entirely impute to the common Fate of Mankind *in this Age*, of whose Disasters our State only bears its Proportion. As to the Fortune attending me, or any other private Person among you, I think, we ought to judge of it entirely from the Circumstances of private and Common Life. It is in this manner only, in my Opinion, that the different Degrees of every Man's Fortune can justly and truly be estimated; and I presume, that you, O *Athenians*, concur with me in these Sentiments. But if you will believe *Æschines*, my particular Fortune transcends the whole Fortune of the State; that is to say, a very moderate Fortune exceeds one that is immensely great. Is this any other than a manifest Contradiction?

77. But, since you are determined, *Æschines*, to take a thorough View of my Fortune; compare it with your own, and if you find your own vastly inferior to mine, then forbear to reproach mine any further. Let us then immediately trace both from the Beginning. But here I conjure you, O *Athenians*, in the Name of *Jupiter*, and all the immortal Gods, that you will not tax me with (a) Absurdity in what I am about to say. For, no one can be readier than I, to acknowledge, that it is a Sign of very little Judgment in any Person, either to reproach another with his Meanness and Poverty, or to value himself on his being born to Greatness and Affluence of Fortune. But the base Calumnies, and abominable Reproaches of this obstinate Detractor lay me under a Necessity to enter into this kind of Dispute. I shall, however, endeavour in the Course of it, to behave my self with all the Decency and Modesty, that the Nature of the Subject will permit.

(a) Absurdity] *Ψυχρότης*. *Frigidus*, when speaking of *Emigditas*, it here signifies *Absurdity*. *pedocles* he says, *Frigidus Ætnam* *insult*. Art. Poet.

78. I had the good Fortune then, *Æschines*, from my tenderest Years, to be sent to all the Schools proper for a Person of my Age ; to have every Thing liberally provided for me ; and not to be compelled by Want to commit any base or ungenerous Action. When I was arrived at Man's Estate, I always behaved myself in a Manner suitable to the Generosity of my Education. I gave Sports and En'ertainments ; fitted out Ships, and encreased the publick Stock ; I omitted no Opportunity of shewing my Liberality either to particular Persons, or to the Publick, but laid my self out upon all Occasions for the Service of my Country, and of my Friends. When I was called to the Affairs of the Commonwealth, the Measures I made choice of, were so universally approved, that I have been frequently honoured with Crowns, not only by my own Countrymen, but by all the other States of Greece ; nor could my worst Enemies ever impute to me any Thing done to the Prejudice of the Commonwealth. Thus have I lived ; and such has been the Course of my Fortunes ; concerning which I could say a great deal more, did I not fear to give Offence by this Manner of exalting my self.

79. Compare then, most worthy *Æschines*, who regard all others with so much Haughtiness and Scorn, the Fortunes you have run through, with what I have now represented. It was your Lot to be brought up from your Childhood in a manner the most sordid and illiberal ; a poor Attendant on your Father's pitiful School, where your whole Employment was to make Ink, scour the Benches, and sweep out the House ; an Office fitter for a Domestick Slave than an ingenuous Youth. When grown up a Man, you read the Books for your Mother at her Initiations, and administred to her in the Performance of all that belong'd to her scandalous Office. At Night you cover'd the initiated Persons

Persons with (a) Deer-skins, and rubbing them over with Bran and Clay, purified their Bodies with Wine. This Ceremony of Purification over, you instructed them to cry out, (b) *I have escaped the worse, and have found the better.* And this Employment you think you had the best Right to; because you boast that no Body could ever howl like you; and indeed, I am of your Opinion; for doubt not, O *Athenians*, but that he who makes so loud a Clamour in this Assembly, must have (c) yelled as remarkably among the Bacchanals. In the Day time you conducted a fine Troop of Enthusiasts through the Streets, crowned with Fennel, and white Poplar; squeezing the (d) Serpents *Pareas* in
T 2 your

(c) *With Deer-skins, &c.*] The preparatory Ceremonies to Initiation were pretty mortifying, such as, Fasting, Lying rough, watching in a dark Cave, and sometimes the being flogged: For such Hints are met with in *Lucian* and *Apulejus*. But as these Things were always held as very secret *Mysteries*, we can go no further. However, this is enough to shew us, how just it was for them to sing this *ἐπὶ νύκτον*, used in the Nuptial Feasts, *ἔφυγον κακὸν, &c.* A Custom not unlike this, was in use in the last Age amongst the Pilgrims to *St. Patrick's Purgatory* in the North of *Ireland*. Whether these barbarous Rites were brought into *Greece* from *Egypt*, as *Epiphanius* says, or from *Phœnicia*, as *Bochart*, it is certain, that there were execrable Impieties frequently committed on these Occasions, insomuch, that the Apostle tells his Christian Converts of *Ephesus*, that there were such Things done among their Pagan Fellow-

Citizens, as that it was a Shame even to speak of them.

(b) *I have escaped the worse, &c.*] Most Nations of *Greece* made use of Acorns at first. Hence it was customary at *Athens*, when they kept their *Marriage-Festivals*, for a Boy to bring in a Bough full of Acorns, and a Plate covered with Bread, proclaiming, *ἔφυγον κακὸν, ἔσθον ἀμεινον*, *I have escaped the worse, and found the better*, which was done in Memory of their leaving the Use of Acorns for that of Bread. *Potter's Antiq. v. 2. c. 18.*

(c) *Must have yelled, &c.*] The Word *ὀλολυζα*, is made from the Words, as well as the Tone used in these abominable Hymns to *Satan, Elœ, Eleleus*. Thus blasphemously did they desecrate the most holy Names of the most High and true God.

(d) *Squeezing the Serpents Pareas.*] This Creature, (so called, from *παρεῖα, gena*, because of its bloated Cheeks), is said to be a Friend to Mankind. *Æt. L. 8. C.*

your Hands, which waving over your Head, you pronounced, with great Vehemence, these Words, (a) *Evoe, Saboe*; and then sung as you danced, *Hyes Attes, Attes Hyes*; the old Women complimenting you all the while, with the splendid Titles of, Master of the Chorus, and Bearer of the sacred Ivy, and Van; and bestowing on you Crusts, Cakes, and Offals, and such like Delicacies, as a proper Reward for such honourable Services. Loaded with all these Honours, who can help esteeming him truly happy, and envying him a Course of such illustrious Fortune? Afterwards, when you became free of one of our Boroughs; (by what Means, I omit, at present;) but when you became free, I say, you immediately accepted of the glorious Office of being (b) Clerk to a Register. Nor could you hold even this long, but were turned out of it with Disgrace, for having committed all those Villanies which you now charge upon others. And then truly, that your Life might be all of a Piece, and the subsequent Part of it not capable of reproaching the former, you hi-

12. *Suidas* gives the same Account, and says, that they are held sacred in Initiations, (*in voce* 'Ορῆς). *Hyperides* in his Oration against *Demades* observes, that Orators are like Serpents; the whole kind of them, (excepting a few), are hateful: That the *Viper* is fatal to Mankind, but that the Care of the Gods had provided an Overmatch for it, in the *Parea*, which devours it. Whether *Demosthenes* in this Picture of *Æschines*, intends to let the Audience dispose the *Viper* and the *Parea* betwixt him and *Æschines*, the Reader must judge. *Lucan* mentions this Serpent, L. 9.

*Et contentus Iter Caudâ fulcare
Pareas.*

(a) *Evoe, Saboe*] The Priests and Priestesses of *Bacchus* used to repeat these Words with great Vehemence and Loudness in their Performance of the Ceremonies of that God. The first is a Greek Word, signifying εὖ οἱ, *bene sit illi*. The Second is a Phrygian Word, and signifies, O *Sacerdotes Bacchi*, for the Phrygians called *Bacchus*, *Sabazios*, and his Priests, *Saboi*; οἱ μὲν Σαβας λέγουσιν τε, τελευμένους τῷ Σαβαζίῳ, τῶν ἑστὶ, τῶ Διονύῳ *Harpoc.* See *Bochart. Geog. Sacr.* p. 771. Edit. *Lugd.* 1712.

(b) Clerk to a Register] Ἀρχιδία, were publick Buildings, in which were the Offices for the Records and Archives.

red yourself to *Simylus* and *Socrates*, those two famous Players, so remarkable for their Dexterity in Whining, for whom you acted the Under-Parts, gathering from different Quarters, Figs, Grapes, and Olives, like one that keeps a Fruiterer's Stall. Here you underwent the Discipline of many more Blows, than what you received from your Companions in your Trials of Skill, though even in them (a) they and you very often ran the Risque of your Lives: For, betwixt you and the Spectators there was such a cruel and irreconcilable War proclaimed, as could never be brought to an Accommodation. So that the Wounds you received from them, give you a kind of Right to bluster, and to call those People Cowards, who never experienced themselves the Danger of such Encounters.

But to pass by those Things, which some perhaps may impute only to your Poverty; I now come to those Crimes, that could proceed from nothing else, but your natural Depravity and Corruption of Morals. For, from the Time that you were concerned in publick Affairs, (howsoever you came to be concerned), you have conducted your self in such a Manner, that whenever your Country was in a prosperous Condition, you then lived like the most (b) fearful of all Creatures, always trembling, and in a perpetual Dread

(a) *They and you often ran the Risque, &c.*] ὅς 'ὕμῃς, Ulpian says, that the Word 'ὕμῃς here, is spoken to the Audience, but I think this is but an awkward kind of a Compliment to an Assembly whose Favour he courted. It is certain, there is some Confusion in the Text, as it stands here at present. At *Athens* when an Actor played a *Neptune*, a *Minerva*, or a *Jove*, much below the Cha-

rafter, it was usual for the Master of the Revels, to order him to be whipped. *Luc. in Piscat.* and this is likewise observed by the *Scholiast*, to which perhaps the Orator alludes.

(b) *Like the most fearful, &c.*] In the Original, like a *Hare*, which the Naturalists have observed to be so fearful, that it never shuts its Eyes, even when asleep.

of Punishment for those Crimes, with which your Conscience upbraided you. On the other Hand, whenever any Misfortune befel any of your Fellow-Citizens, then you put on an Air of Fierceness and Confidence. But what does the Man deserve at the Hands of them that survive, who can see Thousands of his Fellow-Citizens cut off, and instead of expressing Concern, indulge a Satisfaction in it ? But though I could display to you a great many of his other Crimes, I rather choose to forbear, because I hold it not my Duty to discover and recite all the base and scandalous Things I could lay to his Charge, but only such as I can with Decency repeat.

So. Draw now, *Æschines*, the Parallel betwixt your Life and mine ; and compare them together in cool Blood, and not with your usual Heat of Passion. Then ask any of them that now hear us, whether they would choose your Course of Life, or mine. You have been a Schoolmaster, and I a Scholar. You initiated others, and I was initiated. You have danced at publick Entertainments ; I have given them. You have been the Clerk ; I the Orator. You have been the Under-Player ; I the Spectator. You murder'd your Part ; I hissed you. You always acted for the Enemy ; I for my Country. I will carry the Comparison no farther. For, it appears with the greatest Evidence, that my Conduct has been always unblameable, in regard, the Commonwealth thinks me worthy to be honoured this Day with a Crown. On the contrary, you, for your Part, being already esteemed a Sycophant, are in Danger of having the Power of calumniating taken from you, and an eternal Silence imposed upon you, by the (a) just

(a) By the just Sentence, &c.] our Money, according to *Brerewood*. *Cicero* says, that *Æschines* fled from *Athens*, not that he was unable to pay the Fine, but that he was ashamed to shew his Face.

The Punishment of a false Accuser was a Fine of 500 Drachms ; others say 1000, with Loss of Life. *Wolf*. The Attick Drachm was equal to 7d, halfpenny of

Sentence

Sentence of these your Judges. Is this then, *Æschines*, that propitious Fortune, which has attended you your whole Life-time, and which has embolden'd you to call mine despicable and wretched? But I proceed to read the Attestations to my good Conduct in all the Employments, with which I have been entrusted by you. Do you, in the mean time, repeat to us that Verse of *Euripides*, which you formerly murder'd in pronouncing upon the Stage,

From (a) Hell's tremendous Gloom, behold, I come!

And that other,

Know, 'tis with Grief I tell the dismal News.

Thou worst of human Race, may the just Gods conspire with them that this Day hear me, in the Destruction of such a wicked Citizen, such an infamous Traytor, and such a contemptible Buffoon. Read the Attestations.

The Attestations.

81. Such has been my Conduct with regard to the Publick. And as to my Behaviour towards private Persons,

(a) *From Hell's tremendous Gloom, &c.*] This is the most ridiculous Insult upon *Æschines*. There is as much Satyr crowded into this single Incident as would spread over a Dozen modern Pamphlets. 1. He is represented mighty low in his Profession, as a Player; he blunders in the very first Line of his Part, and leaves out the second Word νε-
κρών, and that a very material one. ἤκω λειπών κευθμῶνα: Here he looks as if he had just crept out of the subterraneous Dwelling his Mother lived in. In short, he jumbles and confounds *Euripides's* Verse by preposterously misplacing the Words. The Poet's Line runs thus,

ἤκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ ποτὲ πύλας λειπών, &c.

Here

sons, if every one of you do not know and freely acknowledge me to have been good-natured, compassionate, and always ready to relieve the distressed, I am silent; nor shall I advance one Word, or produce a single Testimony on the Subject. I will not boast of having ransomed any of my Fellow-Citizens from Captivity, of having portioned off any of their Daughters, or of having done any other Actions of that kind. For I have been always fixed in the Opinion, that whoever receives a Benefit, ought to have it in perpetual Remembrance, while the Donor is equally oblig'd instantly to forget it, if either the one would be reckoned an honest Man, or the other would shun the Character of a little and contracted Spirit. But to reckon up the private Favours a Man has bestowed, and repeat them with Ostentation, seems to me almost the same Thing as to (a) upbraid People with them. I will not therefore, by any Means, suffer myself to be so far provoked as to commit any such Indecency; but sit down satisfied with whatever Opinion

Here too, only as a Country Stroller, he is trusted with the playing a Ghost in the Tragedy of *Hec.* (that of *Polydorus*), which he utterly spoils, and for which he is proportionably flogged; for, by *τράυματα*, I understand this sort of Wounds. This Misfortune befel him for attempting a first Part, though but of a Ghost, when he was scarce equal to a Third. *Sophocles* was the first that introduced three Actors on the Stage. Perhaps too, by this Line, *Demosthenes* points at *Æschines's* dark Contrivances, and internal Combinations with *Philip* of *Macedon*. The 2d Verse which *Demosthenes* breaks off abruptly, and supplies with an Im-

precation against *Æschines*, is a very bitter Taunt. For here he appears as a Person deeply affected with having ill News to tell; whereas *Demosthenes* has before shewed the Assembly, that in all calamitous Events in the Commonwealth, he was ever the loudest, and seemed the best pleased in speaking to them. I should think that *Longinus* himself, though he might not allow the Jest of this, would at least let it pass for a skillful Piece of Railery.

(a) As to upbraid People with them] Thus *Terence*,

—nam isthæc Commemoratio
Quasi Exprobratio est immemoris
Beneficii. Andr.

nion the World has already conceived of me, on that Head.

82. Leaving therefore all that relates to private Life, I will yet detain you with a few Words concerning the publick Affairs. For if, *Æschines*, you can name me the Mortal (a) in our Climate, whether *Greek* or *Barbarian*, that has not yielded to the Power of *Philip*, and at present to that of *Alexander*, then will I grant, and be of Opinion with you, that my Fortune, or if you will call it rather so, my Evil Genius, has been the procuring Cause of all the Calamities that have befallen us. But since whole Multitudes, who never saw me, nor heard my Voice ; not single Persons only, but whole Cities and Nations, have been plunged in innumerable Miseries ; how much more agreeable to Truth and Justice is it to ascribe them to the general hard Fate of Mankind, and the terrible Confusion of all Affairs, than to fix upon me, as the Origin of them ? But you, far from taking Things in this just Light, will needs have all these Misfortunes lie at my Door, because I happened at that Time to have some Share in the Administration ; though you cannot be ignorant, that a great Part, if not the Whole of your virulent Charge, must fall at last upon all the Members of the Commonwealth, and upon none more than your self. For, if indeed I had assumed the Sovereign Authority, and had transacted all Affairs of my own Head, then would the rest of you Orators have had just Reason to complain, and accuse me. But since every one of you were present at all the Assemblies ; since every one of you had all Liberty given to you by the Laws of the State to propose whatever you thought good ; and since the Measures then taken were universally approved, and even by you yourself, *Æschines* ; (For certainly it was not out of any Good-will or

(a) In our Climate] Gr. Under this, or our Sun.

Zeal for my Service, but purely from the Force of Truth, and a Consciousness of your not having any better Expedients to propose, that you so quietly permitted me to cherish my blooming Hopes, and to enjoy the Praises, and the Honours, which my Endeavours for my Country at that Time acquired me.) In this case, I say, is it not the most flagrant Injustice and inexcusable Baseness in you to accuse me for those very Measures, which then appeared so reasonable to you, that you could not see any Thing more advantageous to be proposed or done for the publick Safety?

83. I have observed all Mankind unanimously fixed and agreed in these Rules and Principles of Action, which I am now going to lay before you. Hath any Person injured another voluntarily? He becomes obnoxious to the Publick, and suffers Punishment. Hath another committed the same Fact, but through Mistake, and unwillingly? Instead of being punished, he is pardoned. Is there another, who having committed neither Crime, nor Mistake, yet hath been so unhappy as to miscarry, together with his Fellow-Citizens, in the Pursuit of those Measures, which they had all judged to be most expedient? Sure such a Person deserves rather to be pitied and commiserated, than exposed to Censure and Reproach. And that these Principles are right and equitable, appears not only from the established Laws of all Societies, but from the everlasting Dictates of Nature herself, expressed in the universal Consent and Practice of Mankind. So that, *Aschines* plainly outdoes the worst of Men in Cruelty and Falsehood, by imputing to me, as Crimes, those very Things which he himself has acknowledged to be the pure Effects of adverse Fortune.

84. Among the other Instances of that Candor, Sincerity, and Good-will, with which he pretends to have entirely conducted himself in the Course of this Prosecution, he hath been pleased to caution you to be upon your Guard, and take care, that I should not impose upon you with the Artifice of Words : Calling me a Powerful Speaker, and a Sophister ; and talking of the Magick of my Tongue, and all those other Arts, with which he is so much afraid you should be seduced. As if the Advantage of speaking first, gave a Man a Right of having it really believed that all his own ill Qualities belonged to his Antagonist ; and, as if the Auditors were never to examine into the Character of the Persons, who take these Liberties with others. For my own Part, I make no manner of Question, but that you all know my Accuser so well already, as to be satisfied, that the Character he has bestowed upon me, is much more applicable to himself than to me. And as to my Eloquence, such as it is ;———(For since he will have it so, I submit to the Charge ; though I am sensible, that the (a) Reputation of an Orator depends chiefly on the Opinion of the Auditory, and that our respective Characters are established according to the different Reception you are pleased to afford us); whatever, I say, are my Abilities of this Sort, you will always find them employed for your Interest, and never against it, be the Cause either of a Publick, or a private Nature. On the other Hand, you will always find the Eloquence of this Incendiary, either displaying itself in Favour of your Enemies, or in the Attack of some worthy Persons amongst you, who have happened to

(a) *The Reputation of an Orator, &c.*] The Success indeed of the Orator, depends in a great Measure on the Audience ; but the Skill of the Man, only upon those Rules, of which *Demosthenes* was Master. This he seems to say, only to please the People ; for he well knew, that a Majority had a more powerful Eloquence, than a *Demosthenes*.

have

have offended or provoked him. He has entirely perverted the very End of Oratory, which was the Service of the Publick, and made it administer to his own Ill-nature. A Man of Honour, and a good Citizen ought, by no Means, to desire, that Judges assembled here to dispatch the Publick Business, should concern themselves in his private Animosities and Quarrels, or prosecute any Man on such frivolous Pretences: No, it is, on the contrary, his Duty to divest himself entirely of such a turbulent Spirit; or, if that cannot be done, to restrain it within the Bounds of Reason, and Moderation.

85. In what Cases then, is it allowed to an Orator and a Publick Minister to be warm and vehement? In this only, when the very Constitution of the Commonwealth is endangered, and the People are under a Necessity of using their utmost Endeavours to defeat the Designs of their Enemies. In such Cases, to be transported with more than common Zeal, is the Character of every honest and worthy Citizen. But, that a Man, who had never at any time before accused me, of any publick Crime, (and I may add), or of the least private Injury, either in the Name of the Commonwealth, or in his own, should come now before you with a formal and laboured Harangue, and take up so much of your Time in an Accusation intended only to deprive me of my Crown, and of my Honour; far from shewing the least Spark of Virtue or Ingenuity, is an Argument of nothing else, but private Malice, base Envy, and Impotence of Mind. And to begin this Prosecution after so long an Interval, wherein he has had no manner of Controversie with me, and to lay the Load of it upon another Person, instead of fairly attacking my self, is an Argument, of a yet greater Dishonesty, and Perverseness of Disposition.

86. To form a Judgment of you from your Discourse, *Æschines*, you seem to have preferred this Accusation, rather to give a Specimen of your Elocution, than to procure the just Punishment of a Criminal. But, let me tell you, the Worth of an Orator does not depend on his Eloquence, or the Gracefulness of his Pronunciation. His whole Praise results from his being always in the same Interests with the People, and having the same common Friends, and common Enemies with his Country. For, whoever is thus affected, will always speak from the Sentiments of an honest and disinterested Zeal for the Publick Welfare. Whereas he, that pays his Court to those Powers, by whom the Commonwealth has been threatened with Danger, not being embarked in the same Bottom with his Countrymen, must necessarily steer a different Course from them, and look for Safety from a different Shore. For my own Part, you yourself must acknowledge, *Æschines*, that I have constantly chosen to be in the same Interests with my Country, and never took any Care to secure any thing peculiarly for my self, exclusive of my Fellow-Citizens. But how different from this has been your Conduct? Since no sooner had *Philip* defeated our Forces, than you went Ambassador to him, though he had been at that Time the sole Author of all your Country's Misfortunes; and this too, in the Face of all Mankind, who had seen you so obstinately refuse to take that Employment upon you, on former Occasions.

87. Who is it then, that has been the Betrayer of the Commonwealth? Is it not he, who durst not speak out the Sentiments of his Heart? Upon whom ought those Execrations to fall, which are justly pronounced by the Cryer at the opening of our Assemblies? Are they not entirely the Portion of Men of this Stamp? For, what greater Crime can an Ora-

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tor be guilty of, than to speak Things foreign to the Sentiments of his Mind? This then being notoriously your Character, how can you have the Assurance to speak before your Fellow-Citizens, or to look this great Assembly in the Face? Do you think they are ignorant what sort of Man you are? Or do you imagine them all to be so fast asleep, or so forgetful, as not to bear in Mind those dreadful Curses and horrible Imprecations, which you denounced against your self, in order to perswade the People that you never had held any Correspondence with *Philip*, but that my private Enmity to you, provoked me to prefer such a false Accusation against you? And yet, no sooner did Advice come of *Philip's* Victory, than, notwithstanding all these Protestations, you openly threw off the Mask, and declared your self the Guest and Friend of *Philip*, covering with these specious Titles, the scandalous Employment of a Pensioner. For, by what just or honourable Means can it be supposed, that *Æschines*, the Son of *Glaucothea*, the Timbrel-Player, should be reckoned in the Number of *Philip's* Friends or Guests, or should even be so much as one of his Acquaintance? For my own Part, I cannot imagine any: But it is my sincere Opinion, that you sold your self to him, in order to intercept whatever Advantage the Commonwealth might have expected at that Conjunction. But, though your Treason hath appeared so manifestly both by your Behaviour before that Misfortune, and by your own open Acknowledgments since; yet you still have the Assurance to upbraid me with those Things, which are far less imputable to me, than to any one living.

88. Many, and great, and glorious have been the Enterprizes, *Æschines*, which this Commonwealth both undertook and succeeded in, by my Counsels; nor hath she been at all unmindful of them; whereof this is no weak Argument, that immediately after

that

that unfortunate Defeat, when (a) the People proceeded to the Choice of a Person to make the Funeral Oration of those who had fallen in the Battle, they did not pitch upon you, though recommended to it on Account of the Sweetness of your Voice ; nor upon *Demades* who had negotiated the late Peace ; nor upon *Hegemon* ; but unanimously elected me preferably to all others amongst you. And though both you and *Pythocles*, upon this Occasion, fell upon me most barbarously and impudently, (I call all the Gods to Witness !) with the same Accusation and Reproaches that you do now ; yet it only served to confirm them the more in their Choice of me. The Reason of which, though you already very well know, yet I cannot forbear repeating it to you. The People were well apprized on the one Part, of my Good-will, and Readiness to serve them upon all Occasions ; and on the other, of the Wickedness of you, and your Companion. For, what ye both had solemnly denied in the prosperous Times of the Commonwealth, ye

(1) *When the People, &c.*] Before the Company departed from the Sepulchre, it was the Custom to entertain them with a Panegyrick upon the dead Person. Such of the *Athenians* as died in War, had an Oration solemnly pronounced by a Person appointed by the Publick Magistrate, as *Cicero de Oratore*, informs us ; but *Demosthenes* here tells us, the People elected one for that Purpose ; it was customary also to adorn the Monuments of such with Pillars, Inscriptions, and all other Ornaments usual about the Tombs of the most honourable Persons. We find likewise, that the Oration was often pronounced by the Fathers of the deceased Persons, who had behaved themselves most valiantly. Thus af-

ter the Battle of *Marathon*, the Fathers of *Callimachus* and *Cynægirus* were appointed to make the Funeral Oration, and upon the Return of the Day on which the Solemnity was first held, the same Oration was constantly repeated every Year, as *Cicero de Orat.* tells us. This was the ordinary Practice at *Athens*, according to *Thucydides*, L. 3. But those valiant Men, who were slain in the Battle of *Marathon*, had their Bodies interred in the Place where they fell, and a Monument erected over them, to perpetuate the Memory of that wonderful Victory. This Custom was first introduced by *Solon*, or as some say, by *Pericles*, and was generally received not only in *Greece*, but also at *Rome*.

were

were not ashamed to own, in the Day of her Distress. They therefore justly apprehended, that Persons who seemed so little discomposed with the Publick Calamities, must have been their Enemies of a long Time, though they had never till then ventured to discover themselves. They also judged it a Piece of Decency, that those who were to celebrate the Memory of the Dead, and pay them the Honours due to their Valour should not be in the Number of the (a) Bosom-Friends, or (b) intimate Acquaintance of the Enemies, against whom those illustrious Citizens had fought. They judged it highly improper to receive with such Honours those Persons upon their Return hither, who had been known to have rejoiced (c) and triumphed in the Misfortunes of Greece, and to have joined in the impious (d) Revels celebrated by the Authors of that very Slaughter. Nor would they allow the Fall of those brave Men to be bewailed with feigned Tears, and hypocritical Lamentations, but with the sincere Expressions of Hearts most truly and deeply afflicted.

89. The People of *Athens* therefore, conscious of these Dispositions in themselves, and observing the

(a) *Bosom-Friend.*] ὁμοῦστος, a Man that lives under the same ὅροισι, Roof.

(b) *Or Intimate Acquaintance.*] ὁμόσπονδος; one of the same Table or Mess; that partakes in the same σπονδή or Libation, which was made at every Meal. It may also signify from the same Etymology, one that has made an Engagement with another.

(c) *And triumphed, &c.*] The Word, νικᾶν, properly signifies to sing an Hymn in Honour of *Apollo*, or in a larger Sense, of any other God.

(d) *Impious Revels, &c.*] It

was a Custom in Greece, after Supper, to run about the Streets in Masquerade with Flambeaux and Musick, and in this Manner to go to their Friends Houses and there drink intemperately. This was called Κωμᾶζειν, to pay a Visit to the God of Revelling, *Comus*. The Name is said to be derived from the Hebrew KUM, *surgere*, because this Entertainment began just after they had risen from Supper. Hence the Latin Word *Comessor*, and the Word Κωμος is translated, *Rioting*. Rom. xiii. v. 13.

same

same in me, without perceiving the least Sign of any thing like them in you, or your Companions, pitched upon me preferably to you all, for the Discharge of that sad, but noble Office. Nor was it the People only, who expressed these favourable Sentiments of me; but the Fathers and Brothers of the Deceased, to whose Care the Management of the Obsequies was committed, behaved themselves in the same Manner. For when they were to give (1) the Funeral Supper, which, according to ancient Custom, ought to be given at the House of one of the nearest Relations to the deceased, they agreed, and with abundance of Reason, to give it in mine. Because, though every one of them was nearer allied than I to some one or other amongst them; yet, in a publick Capacity, no Body could be tied to them in a nearer or closer Conjunction. The Man who was most interested in their Safety and Prosperity, could not avoid, bearing in the Reverse of their Fortune, (which I wish the Gods might have for ever averted!) the greatest Share in the universal Sorrow.

(1) *The Funeral Supper, &c.*] The Funeral Rites, among the Greeks, concluded with the *πένθη*, called by the Romans, *Silicernium*; which was a certain Banquet given by the Parents or Relations of the Deceased wearing Garlands on their Heads, at whose Houses it was permitted to speak in praise of the Dead, if they had any thing that was true to say of them. We learn from *Julius Pollux*, that, at *Athens*, the Funeral Banquet was wont to be given by the chief Managers and Directors of the Funeral, at the House of the nearest Relation, but it is uncertain, whether it was an open Feast, and free to all Comers, like that

which *Achilles* gave at the Funeral of *Patroclus*, and those of the Romans, which they called, *Viscerationes*, from the great Number of Beasts that were slain, and whose Flesh was distributed among the People. None were allowed to Harangue in praise of the Dead, except at publick Sepultures, and even then too, no other was permitted to speak, but he who was appointed to do so by the Publick. For, according to *Diodorus Sicul. L. 5.* It was enacted by a Law, that the chief Rhetoricians only should make Funeral Orations, reciting the worthy Actions of those who were honoured with publick Sepulture.

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Read

Read to him the Inscription, which the Commonwealth decreed to be in the most publick Manner inscribed on the Monument erected to their Memory. For, even this, *Æschines*, must oblige you to acknowledge your self to be not only a stupid, but vile Calumniator, a most hardened and incorrigible Offender. Read,

The INSCRIPTION.

(a) *Arm'd for their Country's Honour, These engage,
Disperse the War, and stem it's furious Rage;
Dreadful, in virtue's Cause, their Lives they gave,
Their common Price of Conquest, was the Grave,
To save the State, and ward th' impending Strok
And from the Free-born Græcians tear the Yoke.
Lov'd by their Country much. So Fate ordains,
This hallow'd Earth, inshrines their dear Remains.
None but the Gods act right, without Mistake,
But Fate's eternal Measures none can break.*

90. Do you hear, *Æschines*, how, according to this Inscription, it is laid down for a Maxim, that

*None but the Gods act right, without Mistake,
But Fates eternal Measures none can break.*

It ascribes the Power of bestowing Victory in Battle, not to the poor Mortal that contrives and lays the design, but to the immortal Gods. Why then, impious Wretch, do you run out in such Invectives against me, and load me with such Curses, as I hope, the just Gods

(a) *Arm'd for their, &c.] Thus Virgil, Æn. 6.
Hic manus ob Patriam pugnando, Vulnera passi.*

will

will think fit to return upon your own, and the Heads of your wicked Associates? But amidst the infinite Number of Crimes, and Falsehoods, with which *Æschines* charges me, there is one Thing, O *Athenians*, which affords me no small Matter of Surprize, and it is this, that whilst he was largely enumerating the Calamities, which at that Juncture fell upon the Commonwealth, he did not seem to be affected in such a Manner as became a good Citizen, and Lover of his Country. Not a single Tear did he shed, nor shew the least Symptom of a Heart touched with the publick Misfortunes; But, by running me down with loud Exclamations, and Clamours of insulting Joy, instead of carrying his Point, he hath demonstrated against himself, that the Miseries of his Country raised in him Sentiments very different from those of his Fellow-Citizens. Certainly a Man that boasts so much of his Attachment to the Laws and Constitution of his Country, as he just now has done, in default of every thing else, ought at least to put on the same Countenance of Trouble or Satisfaction, that he sees worn by his Countrymen; and in choosing his Party in the Commonwealth, to decline that Side, which is espoused by her Enemies. Yet you, *Æschines*, have plainly shewn your self to have done the contrary, in making me the Author of all the Calamities that have befallen the Commonwealth; when, in reality, O *Athenians*, it was not owing to my Counsels, or Administration only, but to your own generous Inclinations, that you undertook the defence of the *Greeks* against their Invaders. Should you allow, that my Counsels only were what prevailed upon you to make Head against that exorbitant Power which threatened the Liberties of *Greece*, I should obtain a far more noble Recompence than you ever yet thought proper to bestow upon any Person. But I am far from arrogating to my self so great an Honour. To do so, would be a Piece of the highest Injustice towards you; and

such as, I am confident, you could not possibly forgive. Nor, if this unworthy Sycophant had preserved a due regard for your Honour, would he have suffered himself, in the Hurry of his Resentments against me, to blacken those Measures, which, you were of Opinion, had shed new Lustre on your ancient Glory.

91. But why should I dwell on such small Matters, when he has not been ashamed falsely to accuse me of Crimes infinitely greater, and more grievous? For, what is there, (Heaven and Earth!) which that Man will scruple to say, who can have the Face to accuse me of being the Creature of *Philip*? *Hercules* and all the Gods be my witnesses! that were we to search out the naked Truth, stripped of all the Falsehoods, and Calumnies suggested by Envy, or Malice, and inquire who the Persons really were, to whom the World ought, in justice, to impute all the Calamities that have fallen upon Mankind in the present Age; we should find them in all the States of *Greece* to be such Men as *Æschines*, and not such as I have shewn myself to be, during the whole Course of my Life. These Wretches, when *Philip* was in a very weak, and unprovided Condition; and when we never ceased to foretel, and warn them of their danger, and to lay before them their true Interest, were yet so bent upon making their Fortunes by the most dishonourable Methods, that they entirely neglected the publick Good, and never left off debauching and corrupting the Minds of their respective Fellow-Citizens, till they had reduced them all into a state of Slavery. Thus *Daochus*, *Cineas*, and *Thrasylæus*, enslaved the *Thessalians*. *Cercidas*, *Hieronymus*, and *Eucalpidas*, the *Arcadians*. *Myrtes*, *Teledemus*, and *Mnaseas*, the *Argives*. *Euxitheus*, *Cleotimus*, and *Aristæchmus*, the *Eleans*. *Neon*, and *Thrasylæus*, those accursed Sons of *Philiades*, the *Messenians*. *Aristratus*, and *Epicrates*, the *Sicyonians*. *Dinarchus*, and *Demaratus*,
the

the *Corinthians*. *Pteodorus*, *Helixus*, and *Perilaus*, the *Megareans*. *Timolaus*, *Theogiton*, and *Anemetas*, the *Thebans*. And thus *Hipparchus*, *Clitarchus*, and *Sofistratus* enslaved and ruined the *Eubæans*. But Time it self would fail me to enumerate barely the Names of all the Traytors and Betrayers of their Countries. All these, O Men of *Athens*, are Men of the same Principles, and prosecute the same Designs, in their several States, that these (a) impious Wretches, these vile Flatterers, these publick Plagues and Destroyers of Mankind, have pursued in this Commonwealth of ours. These are the Men (1) that have cruelly torn their respective Countries to pieces, that have wantonly betrayed their Liberties formerly to *Philip*, and at this Day to *Alexander*; Men, who, measuring their Felicity by their Luxury, and the most scandalous Excesses, have overturned the very Foundations of publick Liberty, and destroyed that Maxim, (which was the stated Boundary and Rule of Happiness that our glorious Ancestors of *Greece* laid down to themselves), not to endure a Master.

92. It appears then, that during the whole Course of this wicked Confederacy, so much talked of, and with so much Disgrace to the Authors; during this whole Scene of Villany, or rather, O *Athenians*, (not to tri-

(a) *That these impious Wretches, &c.*] This is a Passage greatly admired by all Criticks. As to the Number of Metaphors, says *Longinus*, *Cecilius* seems to be of the Opinion of those, who will admit of but two or three at most for the expressing one thing. But here *Demosthenes* must be our Rule: That Orator shews us, there are occasions, in which more may be made use of at one Time; namely, when the Passi-

ons, like a rapid Torrent, bear 'em after them necessarily and in Multitudes. These impious Wretches, these vile Flatterers, these publick Plagues, and Destroyers of Mankind, &c. By this Croud of Metaphors pronounced in Passion, our Orator silences the Traytor at once. Ch. 26.

(1) *That have cruelly torn, &c.* ἀκροτελευτή, signifies to nip or cut off the Tops of Things.

He

fle with Words,) this Treason againſt the Liberties of Greece, this Commonwealth hath behaved in ſuch a Manner, and that too, by means of my Adminiſtration, as to ſtand juſtified from all Blame in the Eyes of the whole World, as I alſo ſtand innocent in yours. And do you then ask, *Æſchines*, upon what Accounts it is, I deſire to have theſe Honours conferred upon me? I will give you a ſhort Answer. It is be-
 cauſe, whiſt all the Magiſtrates and Orators of Greece, beginning with your own worthleſs Perſon, had been corrupted either by *Philip*, or *Alexander*, (1) neither the Difficulties of the Times, nor Flatteries, nor Promiſes, nor Hopes, nor Fear, nor Favour, nor any other Conſideration, could either compel or induce me to depart in the leaſt from what I judged to be the Rights or Interests of my Country. It is becauſe, as often as I gave my Advice upon publick Affairs, I did not, like you, with an Eye to my own private Inter-
 eſt, incline, like a pair of Scales, to that Side, which threw in moſt weight; but performed every thing I did, out of an unbiassed, Conſcientious, and diſintereſted Regard to my Duty. In ſhort, it is becauſe, having been called to the Charge of the moſt important Affairs more than any other in my Time, I have always managed them with the utmoſt Integrity and Succeſs. And upon theſe Reaſons it is, that I found my Claim to have this Honour conferred upon me.

(1) *Neither the Difficulties of the Times, &c.*] This elegant *Climax* is a Maſter-piece of Oratory, juſt where it ſtands. And yet that glorious one of the Apoſtle, as far exceeds it, as the Love of God ought to do that of our Country. *For, I am perſwaded, that neither Life, nor* Death, nor Angels, nor Prin-
 cipalities, nor Powers, nor Things preſent, nor Things to come, nor Height, nor Depth, nor any other Creature, ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the Love of God, which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. *Rom. viii. 38, 39.*

93. As for the Reparation of the Walls and Ramparts, which you have been pleased to make such a Subject of Ridicule, I apprehend it highly worthy the publick Thanks, and Acknowledgement. And why should it not? Yet I am far from reckoning it up amongst my more important Services done the Commonwealth. It is not with Walls of Brick, or Stone, that I have fortified my Country, nor from thence that I derive my principal Glory. But if you have a Mind to take a just Survey of the Fortifications I have raised, you will find them to consist of Arms, Cities, and Provinces; of Harbours, and Fleets, and numerous Supplies both of Foot and Horse, which by my Care have been provided for the publick Service. With these Bulwarks did I fortifie *Attica*, as far as it was in the Power of human Prudence to accomplish. With these I covered not the *Piræus* only, or the City, but the whole Country round about. Against me, neither the Counsels, nor the Policy of *Philip* did ever prevail; but very much to the contrary. But, over the Forces of our Allies, and their Generals, his good Fortune hath given him the Advantage. But what are the Arguments produced in proof of these Matters? Truly they are most clear and evident.

94. For consider, what ought a Lover of his Country? what ought a Minister of the greatest Penetration, Diligence, and Honesty, to have done for its Service? Ought he not to have made *Eubæa* a Cover for *Attica* towards the Sea-side; *Bæotia*, towards the Midland; and the neighbouring Countries, on the Confines of *Peloponnesus*? Ought he not to take such Care, that Corn might be brought with Safety through all Places in Friendship with us, even up to the *Piræus*? Ought he not to have sent the most timely Succours, to have speeched, preferred Decrees, and taken all other proper Measures for the Preservation of our for-

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mer Acquisitions, in (a) *Proconesus*, *Chersonesus*, and (b) *Tenedus*? And, on the other hand, to have used all his Industry to obtain for us new Advantages, by means of the powerful Friendships and Alliances of the *Byzantines*, (c) *Abydeans*, and *Eubæans*? In a Word, ought he not to have diminished the Forces, and whatever else the Enemy chiefly depended upon; and furnished the Commonwealth with all those Things whereof it stood in need?

95. These are the very Things that have been pursued and obtained in all the *Decrees* and *Resolutions* that have past during my Administration. And whoever, O Men of *Athens*, will take a fair and impartial View of my Conduct, will find, that every thing in it, was agreeable to right Reason and Justice; that no favourable Conjunction was ever lost by me, either through Neglect, Ignorance, or unfaithfulness; and that nothing has been omitted by me, which the single Prudence, or Abilities of any one Man, could perform. But, if the Power of some evil Genius, the Iniquity of Fortune, the Misconduct of the Generals, the Wickedness of those who betrayed your Cities, or all of these in Conjunction, have embarrassed your Affairs so long, that they are now become desperate, where is the Crime of *Demosthenes*? Had there been in every one of the *Græcian* States only one Man of the same Station, and of equal Fidelity with me in the Discharge of my Trust, or rather, had there been but a single Man in *Thessaly*, and another in *Arcadia*, who

(a) *Proconnesus*.] An Island in *Propontis*, over against the Shore betwixt *Parium* and *Priapus*. *Strab. L. 13.*

(b) *Tenedus*.] An Island in circuit about 80 Furlongs, opposite to the Continent of *Troas* at *Achaum*, betwixt *Sigeum* and *Larissa*, and distant from it 40 Furlongs. *Strab. L. 13.*

(c) *Abydeans*.] *Abydus*, a City on the Entrance of the *Hellespont* betwixt *Lampsacus* and *Ilium*, equally distant from both. *Strab. L. 13.*

concurred in my Sentiments; not a *Greek*, either within, or beyond the *Pyle*, had suffered under the present Calamities; but all of them, enjoying their own Laws, Liberties, and Constitutions, had possessed their native Soil in Safety, Ease, and Happiness, with perpetual Acknowledgments to you, my Judges, and the rest of the *Athenians*, for the many and great Blessings by my means conferred upon them.

96. To convince you, that, in order to avoid Envy, I have used Expressions far short of the greatness of my Actions; I desire the List of the Auxiliary Troops may be taken and read, which my Decrees were the Occasion of bringing into your Service.

The List of the Auxiliaries.

By these Actions, *Æschines*, or by Actions such as these, ought every good and virtuous Citizen to regulate his own. And had these succeeded, Heaven and Earth be my Witnesses! We had this Day undoubtedly been, by the best of Titles, the most flourishing People in the Universe. But, though they have happened otherwise, yet we have the Comfort to find our Reputation unsullied, and the Conduct of our Country unblamable in the Opinion of all mankind, as appears, by their charging Fortune, as the sole Cause of this melancholly Turn of Affairs. This, I say again, ought to have been the Conduct of a virtuous Citizen; not, in the Name of *Jupiter*! to embark in a separate Interest from his Country; not to sell himself to the Enemies of the Commonwealth; not to watch for Opportunities of serving them to the Prejudice of his Fellow-Citizens; not to load with Calumnies a Person, who had both boldly proposed and undertaken Enterprizes worthy of *Athens*, and pursued them with a most constant and undaunted Resolution; not
to

to keep up inveterate Resentments, and breath an everlasting Revenge for some small personal Injury; and, *In a Word*, not to go sullenly into Retirement, to brood over his Discontents and Treasons, as you have so often done.

97. There is, O *Athenians*, there is, I acknowledge, an honourable Retirement, which many of you have enjoyed with Innocence, and has been sometimes beneficial to the Publick. But this Man's Retirement, as he has employed it, is of a very different Kind. For, whenever he is pleased to withdraw from the publick Affairs, (and it is very often that he is pleased to do so), he is always upon the Watch for some lucky Moment, when you are perhaps tired with the Faithful, but over-prolix Advices of some of your Orators; or when some great and unexpected Misfortune hath befallen the Republick, (for many such are incident to all human Affairs); and then it is, that breaking out of his Retirement, he rushes, like a Tempest, into the Assembly, where, with the Help of a tunable Voice, and a voluble Tongue, he throws out in a Breath a vast Torrent of Words artfully enough put together, and not unhandsomely pronounced, but such, as have never yet produced any good or beneficial Effect, but rather have constantly been attended with the Ruin of some worthy or inoffensive Citizen, and the Scandal and Disgrace of the Common-wealth. Indeed, *Æschines*, had all this Care, and all these Pains of yours, proceeded from an honest Intention, and a sincere Regard for the good of your Country; Glorious, and most extensively useful would have been their Influence. The Fruits of them would have appeared in numerous and powerful Alliances, in large Subsidies, in the enlargement of Commerce, in the enacting of wholesome Laws, and in taking due Precautions against our declared Enemies. For, the late Times called upon every Man to have his Cares employed about all
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these Things, and afforded many illustrious Occasions to a brave and honest Mind, to signalize it self. But you did never list your self in the Number of such Persons; you had neither the *First*, nor the *Second*, nor the *Third*, nor the *Fourth*, nor the *Fifth*, nor the *Sixth*, nor indeed any Place at all amongst them. No; for, if you had, the Commonwealth must certainly have reaped some Benefit by it. But, where is the Alliance you have negotiated for the Republick? What Succours, what Friends, what Glory has she obtained by your Means? By what Embassy, by what Office have you done Honour to your Country? What Affairs of our own, of the rest of the *Greeks* at Home, or of our Allies Abroad, have prospered by your Directions? What Fleets, what Arms, what Naval Stores, what Fortifications, what Cavalry have been provided by your Care? *In short*, of what Advantage have any of your Services ever been to the Publick? Of none at all. Or when were you so generous and liberal as to give any thing either to the Rich, or the Poor? Never. Ay, but some Body will perhaps say, though his Services have been wanting, he has not, however, been wanting in Zeal and Good-will. But how does that appear? Where was your Zeal and Good-will, you most execrable Wretch, who, when all our other Orators that spoke from the *Rostrum*, voluntarily contributed to the publick Necessities, and when (a) even *Aristonicus* himself generously gave to his Country the Sums he had amassed together, in order to pay his Fine, did not so much as offer a single Drachm? Nor could you plead Poverty in your Excuse. For, how could you be poor, who had the Estate of your (b) Brother in Law

(a) *Even Aristonicus, &c.*] He was a Pay-Master to the Army, and apprehended, it seems, that for his great Skill in Accounts, he might probably be fined, and so laid by as much Money as would pay it, *ἐἰς ἐπιτίμην*. This Sum at that Time he freely, as it were, bestowed on the Pub-

lick; that what would otherwise have been forced from him as a Punishment, might thus appear as an Offering. *Wolf.*

(b) *Brother-in-Law.*] *κνδῆ-ος*. This Word is by *Scapula* said to signify a *Brother-in-Law* in *Demosthenes*.

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Philo, just fallen into your Hands, which was reputed to be worth upwards of five Talents; and had likewise received two Talents more from the President of the Companies, for procuring the Abrogation of the Law concerning the Trierarchs? But that I may not digress too much from my Subject, by touching on every thing that happens to fall in my Way, I shall enter no farther into these Matters. What has been said, is sufficient to shew, that it was not your Poverty which hindered your supplying the Commonwealth, but only your Unwillingness to do any thing prejudicial to those Powers, by whose Interests alone you regulated all your Proceedings, during your Administration.

98. Upon what Occasions is it then, that you exert your self with Courage, and make a splendid Figure? Even then, when you have an Opportunity of inveighing against your Fellow-Citizens. Then it is, that you have the most audible Voice, and the most faithful Memory; and then it is, that you out-bluster that Tragic Actor; (a) *Theocrines* himself. It is then also, that you call up the Remembrance of the great Men that have gone before us, and herein you doubtless are worthy of Praise. However, it is not just, O Men of *Athens*, that, in order to vilifie me, who live in the present Age, he should compare me with those illustrious Dead, and take Advantage against me, from the Veneration you justly have for

(a) *Theocrines* himself.] *Theocrines* was first a Tragedian, who afterwards, according to *Harporation*, became a vile Calumniator and Sycophant. Whence *Demosthenes* calls *Æschines*, *τεγογινός* *Θεογινός*. How contemptible an Expression this was, we may learn from the Infamy of it, even in

After-Ages. *τεγογινός* *Θεογινός*, was a scandalous By-word, used to the *Christians*, whenever they appeared abroad in the Streets. *Hieron. Ep. ad Furiam de Vid* — I wish it were less applicable to many *Christians* in the present Age.

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their Memories. For, who is there that does not know, that all Men whilst living, are constantly more or less exposed to Envy ; whereas the Dead are no longer hated, even by those who had been their greatest Enemies ? Seeing then, this is the Nature of Mankind, is it reasonable to compare me with those great Persons that have lived in former Ages, and to estimate my Merits by such a Standard ? By no Means. For it would not be a fair and equal Competition. But compare me, *Æschines*, with yourself, or whom else you please of your own Stamp, that are in Life at present. And consider whether it be most for the Glory and Interest of the Commonwealth, to despise and ridicule the Services done in the present Age, on Account of the glorious Deeds of our Ancestors, (which certainly have been very great and extraordinary, and far transcending even the highest Panegyrick) ; or gratefully to receive, and reward with distinguished Honours all Actions beneficial to the Publick, from whatever Quarter they come.

99. And truly, (since I must say it), whoever will examine Things without Prejudice, will find my whole Ministry and Conduct to be an exact Resemblance of those antient celebrated Heroes, as yours, *Æschines*, has been of the Sycophants, who envied and calumniated them. For, it is certain, that there were not wanting People in those Days, who run down the great Men of their own, and extolled those of former Ages, from the same Principles of Malignity and Hatred, that you now express against me. And do you tell me, that I, in no respect, resemble them ? Who is it then that does resemble them ? Is it your self, *Æschines* ? Or your Brother ? or any of the Orators that are at present in Being ? For my own Part, I know not the Man. But pray, be so good, my worthy Friend, (to say no worse), as to compare a living Man with those that are living, and have
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trod in the same Circle of Business ; as is done amongst Men of other Professions, whether Poets, Musicians, or Wrestlers. *Philamon* was not deprived of a Crown at the *Olympic Games*, because he had not equal Strength with (a) *Glaucus* the (b) *Carystian*, and some other Wrestlers of former Ages : But he was crowned, and proclaimed Conquerour, because he had most gallantly opposed those who were his own Competitors. Compare me therefore with the present Set of Orators, with your self, or with whomsoever else you please ; I decline not the Trial. For, in that arduous Conjunction, when every one was called upon to exert his Good-will, and give the fairest Testimony of his Affection for his Country, I alone was found to have given the safest and the best Advices, and to have conducted every thing by my Decrees, my Laws, and Embassies. But not one of your Faction, *Æschines*, ever did any thing, but criticise and cavil at what had been done. And after that cruel Disaster, which would to the Gods had never befallen us ! When now no longer faithful Counsellours, but Slaves, Pensioners, Parasites, and Betrayers of their Country, and of its Liberties, were diligently sought after, and held in Esteem ; then did you, *Æschines*, and your factious Associates, assume a haughty and insolent Air in your respective Stations, and make a splendid Appearance with your fine Horses, and magnificent Equipages. At that Time, I acknowledge it, I yielded to you in Wealth, but far surpassed you in Fidelity and good Affection to my Fellow-Citizens.

(a) *Glaucus*.] This *Glaucus* on, had like to have been worsted by his Adversary. The Father seeing this, cryed out, *Thump him, my Boy, as thou didst the Coulter* ; upon which, he made one gallant Effort, and laid the Combatant flat. *Suid.*
 (b) *The Carystian*.] *Carystus*, a City of *Eubæa*, at the Foot of the Mountain *Ocha*. *St-ab. L. 10.*

100. Two Things, O *Athenians*, are necessary in a Citizen, besides that of being naturally a Man (a) of Temper ; (for this I may say of my self without giving the least Occasion for Envy). The one is, that in all Administrations of Power, he should preserve the Character of the Gentleman in the Person of the Magistrate ; and Support the supreme Majesty of *Athens* in the Execution of his Office. The other is, that he should maintain an approved Zeal for its Interests and Concerns, at all Times, and upon all Occasions. By preserving these Sentiments we follow Nature herself, and bind our selves to nothing but what is in our own Power. But Conquest and Empire are not the necessary consequences of Virtue and Wisdom, but depend upon a more capricious Being. You will find then this honest Zeal always to have accompanied my whole Life and Actions. For pray consider, that neither when I was demanded to be given up, nor when I was summoned to appear before the *Amphictyonic* Council, nor when threatened, nor when allured with Promises, nor when worried by those wicked Wretches, who were set upon me like so many wild Beasts, was my ardent Zeal for your Welfare ever in the least impaired. For, from the Time, that

(a) *A Man of Temper, &c.*] Here we see, that *Æquanimity*, or a regular even Cast of Mind, that is perpetually dispos'd to give the just Poize to every Thing, is in the Opinion of *Demosthenes*, the first Qualification of a Publick Minister. It is the first and chief Ingredient in a Publick Character ; and consequently, a turbulent and insolent Spirit, as it usually keeps Men out of Temper, so it ought always to keep them out of Post too. The *μέτερος πολιτής*, is the Man of just Moderation, that ever holds the Balance even, in those important

Articles, the Rights of Government, the Liberties of the People, and the Honour of his Country. In all these he constantly observes the proper *Modus* or Mean ; the exact *Μέτρον*, or Measure. And however some Men may quarrel at the Word *Moderation*, yet after all, it is plain, that it means nothing more, than the *Right Use* of Right Reason ; that it is originally a noble Endowment of Nature ; and in a Word, that all the Substitutes of Art which are commonly put in the Room of it, do generally run Counter to both.

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I first entred upon the Administration of Publick Affairs, I laid it down to my self as an unalterable Rule of my Conduct, to maintain the Rights, the Dignity, and the Reputation of my Country; to enlarge, and increase them to the utmost of my Power; and to devote my self entirely to the Care of them. Nor when I behold our Enemies Affairs prosper, am I seen walking in the *Forum* with an Air of Gaiety and Satisfaction, stretching out my Hand, and telling the pleasing Tale to such as I am confident will repeat it with Triumph to our Enemies. Nor when I hear of any Event that hath fallen out happily for the Commonwealth, do I tremble, sigh, and hang down my Head, like those impious Wretches, who are perpetually reproaching and vilifying their Country, as if by that Means, they did not bring the highest Reproach and Ignominy upon themselves. But their whole Views are foreign, and alienated from their Country; and whenever they behold any foreign Power growing great by the Misfortunes of *Greece*, this is immediately made the Subject of their Applause, and their whole Cry is, that all Endeavours ought to be used to render so glorious an Event, lasting and permanent.

101. But do not, O ye immortal Gods, Oh! do not fulfil the profane Wishes of these impious Men; but on the contrary, inspire their Minds with more virtuous Sentiments, with better Affections and Inclinations. But, if they still continue incurable in their Madness, banish them from all Commerce with Human-kind, and pursue them with hasty Vengeance both by Sea and Land, until they are utterly extirpated and destroyed. But haste to deliver us, the Remains of this Commonwealth; rescue us from those Dangers which every where surround us; and grant us such a Flow of Happiness, as may prove at once, both perfect and perpetual.

The E N D.



